JOHN HOOPER

(No 253)

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16th June
1862
London

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1862

# THE HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM THE

MOST EARLY RECORDS,

TO THE

DEATH OF LOUIS XVI.

THE ANCIENT PART

BY *WILLIAM BECKFORD*, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF

A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

THE MODERN PART

BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN,

WHO HAS BEEN SOME TIME RESIDENT IN PARIS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

ENRICHED WITH HISTORICAL ENGRAVINGS FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF BURNEY, CORBOULD, RYLEY, RICHTER, DAYES, BYRON, TURNER, MOREAU, &c. &c.

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M.DCC.XCIV.

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# SECOND VOLUME.

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# THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

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### THE REIGN OF HUGH CAPET.

Weak arguments for the uſurpation of Hugh Capet—Who is proclaimed at Noyon—Diſperſes the aſſembly at Compiegne, and is crowned at Rheims—Aſſociates his ſon Robert—The Duke of Lorraine takes Laon—His ſucceſs—Hugh Capet compels the Duke of Aquitaine to acknowledge him—The duplicity of Arnold—Laon ſurpriſed by treachery—Charles and his family are made priſoners, and confined at Orleans—He ſoon after dies—The poſſeſſions of Hugh—Diſputes about the Archbiſhopric of Rheims—Death and character of Hugh Capet.

CHARLES of Lorraine, the ſecond ſon of Lewis the Tranſmarine, according to the regular rules of ſucceſſion, was the legal inheritor of the crown; nor was he wanting in his exertions to attain that envied diſtinction. As an extenuation for the excluſion of that prince, it has been alledged by the French hiſtorians that he had alie- A. D. 987.

A. D. nated the affections of his natural ſubjects, in becoming the vaſſal of the German monarch; a weak argument to ſupport the uſurpations of Hugh Capet, who ſeized that throne which the laſt male heir of Charlemagne was entitled to enjoy: the numerous examples that ſo frequently occur, in the hiſtory of this race of kings, and of the little attachment borne by the nobles to the Carlovingian line, juſtify the aſſertion. To what then are we to impute the elevation of Eudes, Robert, and Randolph, to the crown? Had they been ſo jealous of the glory of their ſovereigns, would they have ſuffered them to be reduced to the moſt humiliating inſults; to be confined by their ſubjects; to be obliged to ſeek, in foreign courts, an aſylum from perſecution; and almoſt reduced to a ſingle town for the ſupport of their dignity?

The rejection of the Duke of Lorraine did not proceed from the motives imputed, when Hugh Capet, and his ſucceſſors, as the acknowledged kings of France, thought it not beneath their dignity to perform the accuſtomed ceremonies of homage to thoſe lords in whoſe territories they poſſeſſed lands. The nobles were occupied in the extenſion of their poſſeſſions; in forming alliances for the ſupport of their occupations; and were but ſo many diſtinct ſovereigns in their own demeſnes, regardleſs of the fate of their kings, and indifferent who bore the regal title, excepting when they were actuated by views of perſonal intereſt.

Hugh

Hugh Capet, by poſſeſſions and alliances, was A. D.
the moſt powerful nobleman in the kingdom, while his competitor was not the maſter of a ſingle city. The head of a family who had already taſted of royalty, his plans had been long formed, ſteadily purſued; and by force alone was determined his right to that upon which he had ſeized. The unanimous conſent of the nation raiſed Pepin to the throne of Clovis; but entirely different was the elevation of the founders of the Capetian race; who, having a few days after the death of Lewis the Fifth aſſembled his friends and vaſſals at Noyon, was by them recognized and received as their elected ſovereign. Not prepared for ſo unexpected an event, it was with ſome ſurpriſe that the Duke of Lorraine was informed of this extraordinary uſurpation; and his tardy movements gave his rival time to ſtrengthen his ambitious pretenſions. Upon the death of Lewis, a few partizans of Charles had met at Compiegne, to deliberate on ſuch meaſures as might be conducive to his intereſt; but the mere rumour that Hugh was on his march to that city diſperſed the party; and proceeding to Rheims, he there cauſed himſelf to be conſecrated, and crowned by Adalberon, alſo called Aſcelin, the biſhop of Laon, on the the 3d day of July, but a few weeks after the death of the late King. Conſcious, however, of the irregularity of his proceedings, in the cloſe of the ſame year he no longer neglected to gain the ſuffrages of the kingdom at

A. D. large, but convoked a general meeting of the nobles and prelates at Orleans; and on the 1ſt day of January, was there, in ſome meaſure, lawfully elected by the unanimous concurrence of thoſe aſſembled, who, acknowledging his title, made a tender of the accuſtomed oaths of fealty: ſuch of the nobility as did not approve of theſe proceedings, preſerved a ſullen reſerve, and refuſed to attend. The new Sovereign had the addreſs to prevail upon his partizans to aſſociate with him his ſon Robert in the regal authority; an event, hinted by the early writers, of which he had ſome cauſe to repent; and, from that period, forbore to avail himſelf of any royal and perſonal diſtinctions. In return for the conceſſions that had been made, he promiſed, on his part, to ſanctify and preſerve inviolate their feudal rights. To the clergy he remitted the rich abbeys that he enjoyed by hereditary claim; and, with them, the unlimited power to elect to thoſe preſentations, according to the rules eſtabliſhed by the ancient canons: this popular meaſure, with his apparent devotion, gave him, at once, a decided influence againſt all future oppoſition.

Dilatory as Charles had been in ſuffering his rival to obtain the ſanction of the kingdom without attempting to moleſt him, he endeavoured, but too late, by the rigour of his proceedings, to repair his error. Aſſembling his adherents in the Lower Lorraine, ſo ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, he was joined by Arnold and Herbert, Counts of Flanders,

Flanders and Vermandois: the intereſt of the latter he had ſecured by having eſpouſed his daughter; and with a reſpectable force prepared to conteſt his right to the crown of his anceſtors. A. D.

Laon, the firſt object of his attention, for its ſtrength and conſequence, was ſoon compelled to yield to the ſpirited attack of his arms, although animated to reſiſtance by the preſence of his two irreconcilable enemies, the queen dowager Emma, and Adalberon, the biſhop of the dioceſe; and before his competitor for the crown could advance to its relief. For two months were the efforts of Hugh directed to the recovery of this valuable capture, without having advanced one ſtep towards the completion of his hopes; when Charles, by a well-timed ſally, and with a dreadful ſlaughter of the troops of his adverſary, penetrated into the camp of the beſiegers, obtained a complete victory, and obliged the diſcomfited army to a precipitate flight. Taking advantage of this favourable turn of fortune, the Duke made himſelf maſter of Rheims and Soiſſons; and, ſatisfied with what he had gained, retired with the booty he had amaſſed, to repoſe himſelf and his forces within the city of Laon, ineffectually endeavouring to prevail upon Adalberon to confer upon him the ſacred unction; but, too much attached to the cauſe of his rival, the captive prelate continued inexorable. 988.

A. D. The nobles who had not openly eſpouſed the cauſe of Charles, nor yet conſented to the uſurpation of Hugh, were animated to avow their ſupport by the recent ſucceſs of his arms. William, Duke of Aquitaine or Guienne, whoſe family had been diſtinguiſhed for their attachment to the Carlovingian Princes, loudly arraigned the proceedings of the aſſembly that had met at Orleans, and openly declared for the Duke of Lorraine. Senſible of the ill conſequences that might attend the example of ſo powerful a nobleman, Capet proceeded with vigilance to oppoſe and chaſtiſe this new enemy, by laying ſiege to the city of Poitiers. Repulſed in his attempt by the vigour and activity of William, he was obliged to abandon his enterpriſe, and retire to the Loire; where, purſued by his hitherto more ſucceſsful opponent, a bloody engagement enſued: the Capetian Monarch was triumphant, and the haughty ſpirit of the Duke was reluctantly compelled to acknowledge the victor for his ſovereign.

The city of Rheims had been recovered by Hugh; and the archbiſhopric of that dioceſe becoming vacant, he took the opportunity to ſeduce from the party of Charles, Arnold, the natural ſon of Lothaire, beſtowing upon him that rich prelacy: every precaution that he conceived neceſſary to ſecure the fidelity of this new adherent, he had taken, binding him, beſides, by the moſt ſolemn obligations; but as treachery was the prevalent

valent vice of the times, and no where more fully exemplified than in the perſon of his benefactor, Arnold was no ſooner inveſted with his new dignity, then he delivered up the city of Rheims, by an artful ſtratagem, to the Duke of Lorraine. A. D.

The fate of this unhappy prince, however, now drew towards its cloſe. The Biſhop of Laon, who, from the commencement of his captivity, upon the ſurrender of that city, had held a continual correſpondence with the enemy, although imprudently confided in by Charles, and who had ſhewn him undoubted marks of favour, having informed the King of the ſecurity in which the town repoſed, and the little diſcipline obſerved; Hugh, under the pretext of advancing to Rheims, ſuddenly turned his arms againſt Laon. On Holy Thurſday, when the greater part of the inhabitants were occupied in the devotions of the day, the inſidious prelate opened the gates to the admiſſion of his troops; and before any meaſures could be adopted for their ſafety, Charles with his family, and Arnold, were delivered up into the hands of his more fortunate adverſary. 991.

Worthy of a better fate, the royal priſoner was conducted to Senlis; from thence removed, and confined at Orleans, where he lived two years longer, a prey to unavailing regret; and left, at his demiſe, two ſons, the elder of whom, Otho, ſucceeded, ſome time after, to the Lower Lorraine; and two daughters, Hermenegarde and Gerberge.

Thus

A. D. Thus terminated a war that fatally cloſed the remaining hopes of the partizans of the Carlovingian line, and finally eſtabliſhed upon their throne the rival race of the Capetian!

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More at liberty to attend to the eſtabliſhment of his power, Hugh found himſelf in a ſituation, from the extenſive influence of his patrimonial poſſeſſions, to command an obedience which few of the princes of the laſt line had enjoyed. To the contracted territory appertaining to the crown, he brought the duchy of France; comprehending under that title large poſſeſſions in Champagne and Picardy, the counties of Paris, Orleans, Chartrain, Perche, Blois, Touraine, Anjou, and Maine; while his brother Henry enjoyed the dukedom of Burgundy, nearly what is now compriſed under that name. He had, therefore, little to apprehend from the great vaſſals of the kingdom, whom he judiciouſly ſuffered to purſue their private feuds, unmoleſted by his authority or interference.

Arnold, the archbiſhop of Rheims, whoſe duplicity had excited his reſentment, was arraigned in a council, held at the Abbey of St. Baſil, within his dioceſe, deſpoiled of his ſacerdotal diſtinctions, degraded from his ſee, and reconfined at Orleans; and Gerbert, a man of great abilities,

and

and who was afterwards more diſtinguiſhed as Pope Sylveſter the Second, was elevated to the vacant prelacy. The Council, in proclaiming their rigid ſentence, rather conſulted the wiſhes of the King than their own opinions; and the partizans of the ſon of Lothaire endeavoured to intereſt the pontiff in his behalf, intimating the preſumption of metropolitans in keeping a deſpotic judgment without a confirmation of the Apoſtolic Chair. A. D.

John the Fifteenth was eaſily induced to conſider as an inſult to his dignity, whatever could militate againſt his ſpiritual authority; and the King being unwilling, at the commencement of his reign, to draw upon himſelf the thunders of the Vatican, endeavoured to ſoften the Pope by ſoliciting an interview at Grenoble; but the holy father rejected the proffered meeting, and ſent his legate to aſſemble a council for the inveſtigation of the diſpute. Convoked at Rheims, they ſuſpended thoſe biſhops who had confirmed the ſentence of Arnold, depoſed Gerbert, and re-ordained the former prelate in his ſee. Hugh ſuffered them to decide as they thought proper, but purſued ſuch meaſures himſelf as he judged expedient. Gerbert kept poſſeſſion of his prelacy; and the degraded Arnold remained his priſoner.

The year after this intricate affair, which appears to have occupied ſo much the attention of the kingdom, the ſucceſsful founder of the Capetian race breathed his laſt in the city of Paris, in 996.

A. D. the fifty-fifth year of his age, after having wielded the ſceptre nine years. The duchy of France having been in his perſon re-united to the crown, he eſtabliſhed his ſeat of reſidence in the capital, which had been choſen for that purpoſe by Clovis; but which had been neglected by the Kings of the firſt line, and wreſted from thoſe of the ſecond. By his conſort, Adelaide, he left Robert, and three daughters, Hedwige, Alice, and Giſelie; and a natural ſon Goſelin, abbot of Fleury, and archbiſhop of Bourges.

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Partial as are the French hiſtorians to the name of Hugh Capet, and proud as they are to deduce from him the deſcent of their kings; yet, if his pretenſions to the crown be juſtly viewed, he cannot be conſidered in any other light, than in that of a fortunate uſurper. A ſteady purſuit of diſſimulation, which concealed under the appearance of moderation his boundleſs ambition, was the medium through which he poſſeſſed the ſplendid elevation, and by which he gradually reconciled the minds of men to forget his uſurpation.

Equal to his father in artifice and intrigue, he was inferior to him, both in abilities and valour; but his talents, ſuch as they were, proved to be of a nature to effectuate what he had in view. Prudent and politic, ſimple and regular in his manners,

ners, he diſarmed the jealouſy of his rivals in rank, A. D.
by the exterior modeſty of his deportment. His devotion to relicks, his piety, whether real or aſſumed, (for he transformed his palace into a church, now St. Bartholomew,) were well calculated, in thoſe times, to impreſs the lower claſſes of the people with veneration and reſpect. With all his faults he eſtabliſhed a race of princes upon ſo ſtable a foundation, that it has been delivered down in regular ſucceſſion, in the male line, for eight centuries; and, if not to the commendation, at leaſt to the aſtoniſhment of poſterity.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

An enquiry into the cauſes that haſtened the ruin of the ancient government, and eſtabliſhed the feudal—The weakneſs of the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne encourages the encroachments of the Barons—The deplorable ſituation of the kingdom—The conceſſions of the ſons of Lewis the Debonair to their vaſſals—How benefices became hereditary, and from thence given in perpetuity—The influence of the crown conſiderably impaired by Charles the Bald, who renders offices hereditary—The ancient laws fall into diſuſe—The territorial juriſdiction of the Barons how eſtabliſhed, and the ſeveral modes in which landed property was held—The firſt collectors of the feudal laws—The reſpective duties of the lord paramount and his vaſſal---Of private war, and judicial combat---Of the clergy---The increaſing power of the Pope---Miſery of the people---

A. D. people---Of the peerage---Of the feudal courts---Primogeniture and ſurnames introduced.---Revenues of the King and of the Barons from the ſame ſource---Managers.

THE conceſſions of Charles the Bald, in the latter years of his life, confirmed the ruin of the ancient conſtitution; and, upon the death of the laſt Prince of the Carlovingian line, France had become a government entirely feudal. This extraordinary ſyſtem of juriſprudence originated in the military genius of thoſe northern nations of Europe which overturned the Roman empire, and from whoſe unbounded independency of ſpirit may be deduced whatever freedom now ſubſiſts in the modern governments of kingdoms: a ſyſtem which, for ſeveral centuries, was eſtabliſhed, and nearly in the ſame form, throughout every country of Europe; "an ingenious mixture of liberty and op-"preſſion, of order and of anarchy, of ſtabilility "and of revolution;" "reſembling more a mili-"tary eſtabliſhment than a civil conſtitution, and "producing in its own boſom the ſeeds of per-"petual diſorder."

In the reign of the latter Princes of the firſt race, the tendency to this ſingular government was evidently apparent, but marked by diſtinctions eſſentially different. The kingdom, although in confuſion, had not become ſo abſolutely divided as to be incapable of a reunion of its diſcordant parts; and Charlemagne, as we have before obſerved, united the dividing maſs, and, for a while, gave

gave a general energy and activity to the whole; A. D.
but which only ſubſiſted ſo long as he continued to reign. Half a century, however, had been inſufficient to change the paſſions and the prejudices of his ſubjects; and whether the ſtate of ſecurity were, as yet, too much involved in the darkneſs that had been rapidly extending itſelf over the greater part of the European world, from the fifth century, ſo as to render them incapable of receiving a regular and equitable government; the diſorders that he had reſtrained burſt forth with additional force after his death; and, in the lapſe of a few years, the nation was verging faſt to the ſame ſtate of anarchy and confuſion to which it had been reduced at the cloſe of the adminiſtration of Clotaire the Second.

The encroachments of the Seigneurs, or Barons, upon the lower claſſes of ſociety, before the acceſſion of Pepin, were not forgotten: the paternal care of Charlemagne had been ineffectual to infuſe into the minds of the people a proper ſenſe of their ſtrength and conſequence; and they ſunk, once more, without an effort, into their former ſtate of contempt and inſignificance.

The weakneſs of Lewis the Debonair, more apparent from the comparative abilities of his predeceſſor, incapacitated him from purſuing that ſteady line of conduct which marked the footſteps of that great autocrator; and he became the victim of the vices and caprices of others. Although

A. D. though eſſentially different, the government was, as yet, apparently the ſame: the general and provincial aſſemblies were regularly convened; whilſt new laws, frequently iſſued, and which ſeldom proved but a repetition of thoſe of the laſt reign, at once diſcovered the inefficiency of the legiſlative power.

Not ſatisfied with the regulations of Charlemagne, who in dividing his dominions had made them ſeparate ſtates, entirely independent of each other, Lewis ordained that his three ſons ſhould be ſubordinate one to the other, according to their ſeniority in years; a meaſure which tended to promote thoſe ideas of ſuperiority which Lothaire aſſumed, and which tore the empire to pieces ſoon after his death.

Inſenſible to their common intereſt, they laid themſelves open to the encroachments of their ſubjects; ſubmitted to employ the moſt ſervile careſſes, to gain their ſupport in their unnatural diſputes: alternately ſtrengthening the hands of the clergy and the nobles, as their momentary intereſts required; and who, on their ſide, bent upon the extenſion of their power, took advantage of every circumſtance that could favour their uſurpations upon the prerogatives of the crown.

As the ſucceſſors of Lewis were ſeldom able to raiſe a competent force, they found it impracticable to oppoſe the repeated inroads of the Norman depredators: and the long reign of Charles the Bald affords

affords to the diſguſted inquirer, but a continual A. D.
ſeries of fraternal diſcord, of public and private calamities; of towns, hamlets, churches, and monaſtries, in flames; while the country was equally ravaged by the lawleſs rapacity of their external enemies, as by the private and ſanguinary wars of the barons.

Every individual, intereſted for his perſonal ſafety, became naturally inſenſible to public misfortunes; oftentimes reduced to the neceſſity of redeeming themſelves three times in one year from the hands of the free-booters, without having gained by this redemption a more certain ſtate of ſecurity and peace.

The clergy, who had re-acquired wealth from the indulgence of Charlemagne, were again oppreſſed by the nobles: their riches were but an allurement to plunder: they became the victims, either of the invaders of the kingdom, who, in their predatory inroads, eagerly ſought for the poſſeſſions of the churchmen; or of the ſtronger arm of the powerful barons, who aſſumed, as their moſt valuable privilege, the protection of the church, eſtabliſhing themſelves, by force, in their opulent endowments; and, although laymen, taking upon themſelves the names of abbots, and merely leaving to the inſulted monks the liberty of praying for the proſperity of their perſecutors.

In the meeting held by Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles, at Merſen, the immediate vaſſals of the

A. D. crown obtained from thoſe Princes a diſpenſation in future from an attendance in the field when called upon in domeſtic diſputes, and became from hence only liable to aſſiſt with their retainers in foreign wars; a preliminary ſtep to the conceſſions that ſoon after followed.

Lewis the Debonair had, during his reign, made ſome benefices hereditary; and it is from that period that the Abbé Mablay ſuppoſes they became ſuch: but Monteſquieu likewiſe obſerves that, in the reign of Charlemagne, there were ſeveral given by that Prince in the ſame form. Charles the Bald rendered all his benefices not only hereditary, but, in default of immediate heirs, his vaſſals were permitted to bequeath them to their relatives. The tranſition from thence to lands held in perpetuity was eaſy: a man who had received his benefice from his predeceſſor, was not likely to reſtore a property which he had reaſon to conſider as his birthright; and as there were great numbers of powerful vaſſals that held by the ſame tenure, the feeble authority of the crown was, in the ſucceeding reigns, inſufficient to attempt a re-union of the royal demeſnes.

Having diveſted himſelf of his lands, and having nothing elſe to beſtow, Charles rendered offices hereditary. The Counts, in the preceding reign, had already begun to aſſume a right of granting the royal benefices ſituated within their juriſdictions; by which means, having ſecured to them-

themſelves many retainers, with the power of ob- A. D.
taining more, they eſtabliſhed an authority that the ſucceſſors of Lewis were unable to withſtand, and which was followed, as we have already ſeen, by the deſtruction of the illuſtrious race of Charlemagne.

The little influence of the crown, even under the grandſon of that monarch, may be readily conceived: yet Charles continued, to the laſt year of his life, to convoke his aſſemblies, which were almoſt entirely neglected by the nobles, and attended only by thoſe who were, like himſelf, the victims of encroachments.

The Salic, Ripuarian, Burgundian, and other codes of the barbarian law, with the capitularies of Charlemagne, that had been acknowledged inſtitutes, extending to every individual of the community, were ſinking faſt into oblivion; and by the time that Hugh Capet mounted the throne, every poſſeſſor, who held either in allodium or fief, had ſo completely eſtabliſhed his juriſdiction within his own demeſnes, that appeals to a general tribunal were no longer known. The diſtinctive appellations of the different nations who followed their reſpective codes at the commencement of the monarchy, were forgotten; and all were alike ſubject to the local laws, or, more properly ſpeaking, to the caprice of the lord within hoſe diſtrict they reſided.

A. D. The juriſdiction of the counts, or dukes, extended not, as heretofore, over the province or county, but within the towns and villages adjoining to their places of reſidence, and over ſuch parts of the circumjacent country in which they had been fortunate enough to prevent others from eſtabliſhing an independent barony: but within the territory they had thus acquired, they became the abſolute ſovereigns, and exerciſed all thoſe rights which modern civilians attribute to regalians—the enjoyment of almoſt every royal prerogative: and as the pre-eminence of the monarch was ſtyled a ſovereignty, that of the counts over their vaſſals obtained the ſtrange diſtinction of ſuzeranity. The four principal privileges attached to the lord paramount, conſiſted in the juriſdiction, the mint, the right of private war, and the protection of the churches; and were wholly independent of any other power but in the empty oath of fealty, and the ſemblance of acknowledging a ſuperior, by the obſervance of the accuſtomed forms of homage to the monarch; a ceremony which only bound them to ſuch ſervices as they choſe to pay, and to which their intereſt led them to ſubmit, as an example to their own vaſſals, who, actuated by the ſame ſpirit, were equally inclined, with themſelves, to ſhake off the appearance of dependency.

There were ſome powerful nobles, who held their poſſeſſions from no ſuperior, but, as they defined it, from God and their ſword. In general, however,

however, from long-accuſtomed uſage, the ſuperiority of the count, the ancient magiſtrate, was acknowledged. Thus all lands were held in allodio, or fief; as the poſſeſſions of Hugh Capet, for inſtance, being chiefly patrimonial, were of the former deſcription; and the duchy of Normandy, which was held of the crown, was of the latter form. A. D.

Titles were indiſcriminately taken; ſome aſſuming thoſe of dukes, while others, although poſſeſſed of a duchy, preferred the appellation of count, a diſtinction which was then in the moſt eſteem. The nobles were all barons; a title, ſtrictly ſpeaking, only territorial, and which, when nominal appendages became more determinate and fixed, was preſerved by thoſe who had not obtained any other. The common gradation of rank was that of dukes, of whom there were but few; of counts, of caſtalians, who held of them; and of the petty vaſſal, or vavaſſor, who was the poſſeſſor of a ſingle fief. It was, however, a long time before there were any certain rules. A count frequently held of another count, although both were, probably, original vaſſals of the crown. Sometimes the poſſeſſor of a fief, after any recent ſucceſs, paid not any homage; whilſt others, who held an allodial property, were compelled by a formidable neighbour to ſubmit, for protection, to the forms of vaſſalage; and, excepting the barons of the loweſt claſs, they were, moſtly all,

A. D. both ſuzerains and vaſſals. The Capetian Princes, who were poſſeſſed of ſuch extenſive patrimonial eſtates, had, likewiſe, ſome detached fiefs in the territories of other lords, and thought it not any degradation of the royal dignity to ſubmit to the forms of homage for ſuch lands; and were alike ſubjected to the required ſervices and duties of vaſſalage, receiving, perhaps, the oath of fealty from him to whom they had juſt tendered their own.

Although every baron had the juriſdiction within his own demeſnes, yet the high juſtice appertained ſolely to the lord paramount; that is, all criminal cauſes in which life was concerned, ſuch as murder, homicide, incendiaries, and falſe coining, were decided in the court of the ſuperior lord. The low juſtice, which conſiſted of petty cauſes, was equally the privilege of all the barons. To the ſuzerain only belonged the right of the mint. The people, miſerably oppreſſed, and not having any intereſt in the defence of their tyrants, were, as might be expected, but indifferent ſoldiers: to ſupply, therefore, a deficiency ſo neceſſary to the authority of their lords, fiefs were abundantly multiplied; and they, like the ſovereigns of the Carlovingian line, but without ſinking into their inſignificance, having parcelled out all their lands, ſought to obtain retainers by other means. Their rents, their taxes, the tolls over bridges, the eſcort of merchants, the moſt ordinary perquiſites, nay penſions, and domeſtic offices, became in ſome

ſome meaſure fiefs, being granted on expreſs A. D.
conditions, and for particular ſervices.

The little authority that the moſt powerful nobles had over their vaſſals is well exemplified in one inſtance among many in the reign of the illuſtrious founder of the Capetian race. Adelbert, Count of Perigord, beſieged the city of Tours, in conſequence of a private diſpute with its count, a vaſſal, as well as himſelf, to the Kings, Hugh and Robert. Unable to prevent him by force of arms, they requeſted him to forego his hoſtile enterpriſe: little attention being paid to their meſſenger, they demanded "Who had made him a count?" "And who," replied the independent Adelbert, "made them kings?" He continued the aſſault, and obtained poſſeſſion of the city; and ſuch was, at that period, the general ſtate of all the provinces.

Guided by no written laws, many years elapſed before the reciprocal rights and duties of the lord and his vaſſal were aſcertained. The moſt early collection of the feudal laws, was that of the aſſizes of Jeruſalem, compiled at the cloſe of the eleventh century, for the uſe of the cruſaders in their recent conqueſts; and which, we are to ſuppoſe, were conformable to the cuſtoms at that time in uſe in their own country; but it was more than a century from that period before any written regulations were promulgated in France. The firſt who attempted to reduce their vague juriſprudence to any

A. D. determinate code was Pierre de Fontaine, who flouriſhed in the reign of Saint Lewis, and who digeſted thoſe of Vermandois, as likewiſe the eſtabliſhments of that prince, and thoſe of Beaumanoir, who arranged the cuſtoms of Clermont: and ſo various were they, that the latter, who was one of the moſt enlightened men of that age, ſuppoſes that there were not two baronies which were entirely governed alike throughout the whole kingdom.

The reſpective duties of the baron and his vaſſal, as we have already obſerved, were apt to vary. Some were bound to ſerve him in his wars for a period of fifteen days, others for twenty-four, forty, or ſixty. Some attended in perſon, others by their ſubſtitutes. In ſome places none could be compelled to take the field unleſs their paramount conducted them in perſon, or was the principal in the diſpute. If, after three ſummonses, the vaſſal refuſed to perform his accuſtomed homage, by accompanying his leader to the field, to attend the aſſize-court of his baron, to take up arms againſt his perſon and authority, excepting upon a denial of the juſtice of his court, or to accuſe him of treaſon, without being able to ſubſtantiate his charge, he was deemed guilty of felony, and ſubject to the loſs of his fief.

While the rights of the baron were thus acknowledged, he was equally bound to protect his vaſſal. Their manners, however barbarous, were

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ſo far reſpectable, that while it was adjudged felony to ſeduce the wife, daughter, or ſuch females as were under the protection of his ſuperior, the paramount was likewiſe obliged to obſerve the ſame decorum towards the family of his vaſſal; and if he afforded him not a full protection, or denied him the juſtice of his court, he repaired to the paramount of his baron, and became his immediate vaſſal. A man who held different fiefs from different perſons, if they were at war, ſerved the one to whom he had at firſt done homage; in ſome inſtances, both; in others, neither, or the one who had been attacked: ſo much variation was there in the cuſtoms of ſeparate diſtricts! A. D.

The right of private war ſeems to have been coeval with the fief, or, more properly ſpeaking, with the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy; originating in the cuſtoms of the Germans. It was, for a while, checked by the rigorous adminiſtration of Charles Martel, and his immediate ſucceſſors. Charlemagne ordained, in a capitulary, of the year eight hundred and two, that "he who ſhall preſume to revenge his own cauſe by force ſhall forfeit all his poſſeſſions." The church ineffectually oppoſed this pernicious cuſtom, and were indeed compelled, from the nature of their acquiſitions, and the confuſion that enſued, to reſume their arms; a neceſſity highly incompatible with thoſe maxims of peace which their religion ſhould, in preference, inſtruct them to cultivate.

After

A. D. After the deceaſe of the latter prince, private war ſoon became an undiſputed right, inherent in every poſſeſſion, either allodial, or in fief. A declaration of hoſtilities between the parties implied an equality of birth; all crimes which are now puniſhed by the laws, as well as the moſt trifling pretences, in ſome meaſure juſtified this extraordinary cuſtom—ſuch as opprobrious language, a blow, the ſeduction of women, diſputes of ſucceſſion; and every perſon who happened to be preſent when the offence was given, became a party in the war, involving with him, at the ſame time, all ſuch as were connected, either by the ties of conſanguinity, or attached to him by the reciprocities of friendſhip and affection.

Every vaſſal was bound to aſſiſt his lord, in his perſonal diſputes, were they even with his king, and to be ready to attend him, when called upon, provided with every proper warlike inſtrument, with neceſſaries, proviſions, and conveyances. Thoſe who were wealthy appeared almoſt invulnerable in the field, ſo completely were they armed; and none but the lower claſſes fought on foot. The heads of the horſes were defended by iron, while the villains, or peaſantry, were compelled to attend without any defence, and were rather uſed as pioneers, or in the more ſervile duties of the camp, than as combatants.

It frequently happened that diſputes, inſtead of being publicly ſettled, were determined by judicial

cial combat. Thoſe legal duels, for they were A. D.
ſanctioned by regular rules, made laws entirely uſeleſs; and it is not to be wondered at, that the ancient codes ſo ſpeedily fell into diſuſe, when every miſunderſtanding was decided by arms. If a judge was not obeyed, he challenged the perſon who contemned his authority; or he might be himſelf interrupted in his ſentence, and challenged for falſe judgement by the accuſed; and at Orleans this barbarous cuſtom prevailed in matters of debt.

Charlemagne, who could not aboliſh this ſavage practice, and which no modern legiſlator has been able fully to eradicate, ordained that no one ſhould fight, excepting with the baſton and buckler: but this method was ſoon diſuſed, and the combatants entered the liſts, armed at all points, and on horſeback. None but the villains engaged on foot with their faces uncovered, and with the baſton.

When the court of the baron had conſented to the combat, they directed the form of the proceedings; and the perquiſites, collected upon the occaſion, made a conſiderable portion of the revenues of the lord: it is not, therefore, ſurpriſing that they were ſo much encouraged. He had the horſe, the arms, and, in particular caſes, the goods of the vanquiſhed: if, therefore, a proceſs were once commenced, the parties could not accommodate the ſubject of altercation without his conſent; but if, in a capital crime, he ſhould have been

A. D. been corrupted by preſents, and had conſented to an amicable ſettlement, he was fined, and the court decided the cauſe. Such as could not offer, or accept battle, as the aged, the infirm, or women, were allowed, if the judges thought proper to admit of a combat, to ſelect a champion; and if he were overcome, he was ſubjected to the loſs of his hand. In ſome inſtances the vanquiſhed was beheaded upon the ſpot; but it was ſeldom that the ſeverity of this puniſhment took place; a confiſcation of his goods, or a part of his effects, was generally accepted as a ſatisfactory compenſation.

As the barons had gained, ſo the clergy had proportionably loſt, by the extinction of the ancient government. In becoming the ſovereigns of their diſtricts, their power and dignity declined. They performed no homage for their fiefs, as they conſidered it degrading to the ſanctity of their office, but only ſubſcribed to the oath of fidelity; yet, with this privilege, they were ſubject to all the ſervices of vaſſalage; ſuch as, an attendance in the court of their paramount, an obligation to furniſh their proportion of the charges of the war; and were, beſides, oftentimes called upon to ſerve in perſon. An expreſs capitulary of Charlemagne had forbidden the clergy to take the field; but the cuſtom was reſumed after his death. In the reign of Charles the Bald, we find two eminent men, both allied to royalty, the Abbot Hugh, and Rikbold,

Rikbold, ſlain in an engagement before Thou- A. D.
louſe.

Monteſquieu obſerves, that ſo great were the donations made to the church under the three races, and at different times, that they muſt have ſometimes poſſeſſed all the lands of the kingdom, and have conſtantly acquired, refunded, and are ſtill acquiring. We have ſeen how, at the end of the firſt line, they were deſpoiled of their wealth, and by what means they recovered it. Under the ſons of Lewis the Debonair, the laity again attained the aſcendancy, introduced prieſts into the churches, or drove them from thence, as they pleaſed; and under the ſucceſſors of Charles the Bald, who greatly contributed to weaken their power, the whole of the clerical order, excepting a few who had augmented their authority by temporal poſſeſſions, or who held immediately from the crown, had become the vaſſals of thoſe counts of whom they had been accuſtomed to take precedence; or were compelled to put themſelves under the protection of ſome powerful baron, who aſſumed the title of their Vidames, or advocates.

The natural influence of their ſacred character upon the minds of men in general, and the religious enthuſiaſm that pervaded all ranks of people in the time of the cruſades, were the means of reſtoring to them, by degrees, their former pre-eminence. The learning that obtained in the world,

A D. world, trifling as it was, ſeemed to be particularly confined to their individual order. They had been governed, from the commencement of the monarchy, by the Roman law; and, as early as the ninth century they had compiled, for their eſpecial uſe, a code of canon law. Their tribunals being, conſequently, more enlightened, and their cuſtoms more fixed and certain, their deciſions acquired a conſiderable ſuperiority over thoſe of the barons, whoſe courts, without any determinate guide, were directed by vague and traditionary cuſtoms; and, as we ſhall have have frequent occaſion to obſerve in the ſubſequent hiſtory, the clergy, in the courſe of a few years, were enabled to draw to their courts, by theſe advantages, the right of determining all cauſes relative to faith, marriage, ſacrilege, witchcraft, concubinage, and uſury. They took cognizance of every thing that concerned widows, orphans, the lower clergy, and clerks, by which were meant, not only ſuch as had been received into holy orders, but ſuch as were under the protection of the church. All diſputes concerning wills were likewiſe amenable to their judgment and deciſion.

Thus, imperceptibly ſtrengthening their power, they were alſo employed in preparing for the kingdom a new maſter, in the Pope; the extenſion of whoſe ſpiritual authority acquired ſo conſiderable a force under the firſt Princes of the Capetian line, and extended his influence, at the ſame period,

riod, over the whole Chriſtian world. During A. D.
the early times of the monarchy, the French and the German clergy had acknowledged the ſupremacy of the Holy See, but had ſtill preſerved their independency. The councils of the Gallican church were frequently held, and the conſent of the king and the nation had been deemed ſufficient to authoriſe their acts.

We have ſeen how the temporal power of the Roman pontiffs was extended by the bounty of Pepin and Charlemagne, and in what manner, by the diſorders that enſued among their ſucceſſors, they gradually withdrew their dependency from the French crown, aſſumed an authority over the weakneſs of their princes, and even interfered in their domeſtic concerns. Founding their rights upon the ſtrength of a forged collection, ſince known under the name of the falſe decretals, and which were ſuppoſed to have contained the ancient canons of the Biſhops or Popes of Rome, in the early centuries of the Chriſtian æra, which, among a variety of other articles, decreed, that no provincial councils could be held without the conſent of the Holy See, and reſerving for that tribunal the power of receiving appeals in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes:—theſe decretals were ſufficient in thoſe dark ages to juſtify the abuſe the ſucceſſors of Saint Peter made, in their uſurped power; and which, for many centuries, from the extreme ignorance that pervaded all ranks of people, were

ſuffered

A. D. ſuffered to remain uninveſtigated, and to become the undiſputed teſt of their authority.

The imputed ſanctity of their ſtation induced many to have recourſe to their advice; and they frequently became the arbiters of the diſputes between the monarch and his ſubjects: thus gaining upon the public opinion, they were, at length, conſidered as infallible. Under the pretence of applying ſome remedy to the diſorders of the times, they found the means to intermeddle in all the concerns of conſequence; and, by the end of the eleventh century, aſſumed the right of tranſlation from ſee to ſee; of depoſing biſhops; of re-eſtabliſhing others who had been degraded; of drawing appeals from the courts of the laity to their own tribunal, that they might be there reformed; and ſhook, in the progreſs of time, the throne of every crowned head in Europe.

The people, the moſt numerous, as the moſt uſeful claſs of the community, were all, more or leſs, ſlaves, under the arbitrary dominion of the feudal barons. Subjected to the moſt diſgraceful ſervices, oppreſſed by the moſt perſevering cruelty, and overwhelmed by the moſt intolerable taxes, there was ſcarcely any diſtinction left between the freeman and the ſlave. Every lord was the unlicenced tyrant of his demeſnes, which was a real priſon to his ſubjects. With the name of freemen, they had not the liberty to diſpoſe of their effects, either by any act during life, or by a teſtamentary diſpoſition

diſpoſition at their deceaſe. In default of children, A. D.
not domeſticated in the fief, the baron became the heir of their reſpective properties. They were not permitted to marry without his conſent, and his permiſſion was ſeldom obtained but by purchaſe. They could not terminate a ſuit, once commenced, by accommodation, leſt it ſhould deprive him of the perquiſites of his court. If they obeyed not his ſummons in time of war, they were liable, with their deſcendants, to be reduced to ſlavery. This precarious ſtate of miſery, in perpetual dread of ſome additional burthen, or ſubject, upon the moſt trivial pretences, to a confiſcation of all their goods, induced many to make a voluntary ſurrender of themſelves, in the expectation of experiencing leſs inhumanity.

While thoſe attached to the duties of huſbandry were thus afflicted by the iron hand of power, thoſe reſident in the towns were not in a better ſituation. Living together without any civil ties, they were cruelly ſubjected to the tyranny of the counts, whoſe caſtles, erected contiguouſly to their places of reſidence, kept them in conſtant ſubjection to his will. The moſt trifling conceſſion, although purchaſed from their lord, was deemed a favour. They were compelled to ſupply their haughty ſuperior and his companions, whenever he lived among them, with every kind of neceſſary. Their commodities, expoſed to ſale, were heavily taxed, or, in ſome places, interdicted from

A. D. a public market, or ſo monopolized by the baron, as to cauſe them to be thereby prevented from receiving any advantage from their exertions, and thus proved an effectual check upon their induſtry. Even the domeſtics of the moſt potent chieftains took under their protection robbers and banditti; and the ſervants of an Archbiſhop of Vienne eſtabliſhed an impoſt upon marriages within his lord's demeſnes.

The only advantage reſulting from the name of freemen was, that with the conſent of their biſhops they might be received into the ſervice of the church, and be thus freed from all further taxes: a ſtrange contradiction! when at the ſame period of time the patrimony of the ſpiritual order was pillaged without ſcruple or compunction.

By marriage they might ally themſelves to the families of the nobles, and were capable of acquiring a fief; by which means, or by a ſuperior connexion, they ennobled themſelves. But if a gentleman by birth united himſelf to a ſlave, the children were levelled to the actual ſituation of the mother.

The riſe of the peerage has been a matter much diſputed, its foundation having been attributed to Charlemagne, and with as little probability to Hugh Capet and Robert. Peers, as the Count of Boulainvilliers obſerves, were more ancient than the peerage; were coeval with the fiefs, the enjoyment of which conferred a right to execute juſtice

juſtice in conjunction with their equals. Thus the vaſſals of the monarch in his court were peers one with another; ſo their vaſſals in the courts were in the like ſituation with each other; and peers implied not, therefore, at that period, any ſuperior dignity. A. D.

There was a diſtinction made between the vaſſals of the crown, and thoſe of the duchy of France, although united in the perſon of Hugh Capet. Of the number that held immediately of the crown at the acceſſion of that Prince, ſuch as the Dukes of Guienne, Normandy, Burgundy, the Counts of Flanders, Thouloufe, and others, they were reduced, by the reign of Philip Auguſtus, to only ſix; the moſt powerful having probably obtained a ſuperiority by the gradual lapſe of time; and to thoſe above mentioned, it ſeems to be generally allowed that ſix of the moſt dignified clergy were aſſociated by Lewis the Young, to aſſiſt at the coronation of his ſon Philip Auguſtus; and, from that period, they were fixed at twelve, who, confined to that number, were conſidered as peers of France, with all their peculiar and local privileges.

That there was not any general aſſembly of the nation under the latter Princes of the Carlovingian line, or the firſt of the Capetian monarchy, in which reſided a legiſlative authority, extending over the community at large, is proved by the ſtate of the feudal government above deſcribed, and by

A. D. the collection of the laws of France. The laſt Capitulary, digeſted by Monſieur Baluze, was at the cloſe of the reign of Charles the Simple; and the firſt *Ordonnance* of the kings, which appears to have extended to the whole kingdom, was in the reign of Philip Auguſtus; ſo that, in the ſpace of two hundred and ſeventy years, no new law was added to the ſtatutary code of the Gallic monarchy.

The aſſize courts of the early Princes of the third race were the ſame as thoſe held by their vaſſals, the juriſdiction of which extended only within their own demeſnes, and were called together, at ſtated times, with peculiar pomp and ceremony; the lower claſs of barons ſeldom holding theirs but when expreſsly required by their vaſſals. Women who inherited a fief, were likewiſe competent to hold their courts. Three or four perſons were ſufficient to ſit in judgment; and when a baron could not aſſemble a proper number, it was cuſtomary to borrow the vaſſals of a neighbouring lord.

With the feudal law was introduced the right of primogeniture; a cuſtom entirely unknown under the Princes of the firſt race, in which the ſons divided equally amongſt them the inheritance of their fathers. When fiefs became hereditary, ſeniority was fully eſtabliſhed, as well in the crown as the fief, which was in itſelf conſidered as no more than a great fief. Surnames, alſo, became in uſe about this

the ſame time: the nobles derived them from their territories; the lower orders from the places of their births, and not unfrequently from either perſonal advantages or defects. A. D.

The revenues of the Princes aroſe from nearly the ſame ſource, as has been obſerved in the reign of Charlemagne; the produce of their own demeſnes; the perquiſites of their courts of juſtice; ſome ſmall rights upon their vaſſals, as upon the marriage of his eldeſt ſon, or daughter; and the taxes upon the Jews, who were deemed the property of the lord within whoſe lands they reſided.

Manners, as may be eaſily ſuppoſed in this undetermined ſtate of government, were ſtill barbarous. Without any check upon their natural ferocity, the barons exerciſed the moſt unjuſtifiable acts of tyranny: the people, poor and contemptible, were ſunk, as were their deſpots, in the moſt profound ignorance: few of the nobles could either read or write: there were no titles to poſſeſſions but uſage, no authentic deeds of marriage but tradition; hence, what was entruſted to the memory was ſoon loſt. The want therefore of records, occaſioned thoſe perpetual diſputes relative to ſucceſſion, and to the degrees of kindred: a circumſtance of which the clergy availed themſelves; as it was not deemed conſonant to the eſtabliſhed forms of the church to contract a matrimonial alliance with the ſeventh remove of affinity.

A. D. All arts, but thoſe of war, were held in contempt. Surrounded by his vaſſals and dependents, the powerful baron, when not employed in ſome predatory inroad upon the lands of his neighbour, commonly reſided at his country ſeat, where military exerciſes, and the ſports of the field, were his only occupations. Without arts, ſciences, commerce, they even lived without the moſt ſlight connexion with the neighbouring provinces; a ſingular inſtance of which is preſerved, among others, in the collection of Dom Bouquet. An abbot of Cluny in Burgundy, being requeſted to remove his monks to Saint Maur des Foſſés near Paris, excuſed himſelf from undertaking ſo long a journey into a ſtrange and unknown land. If any perſon travelled from one part of the kingdom to the other, he was obliged to acknowledge himſelf within a year and a day the vaſſal of the lord in whoſe territory he had ſettled, or be ſubject to heavy penalties; and the wretched inhabitants of the maritime provinces, who ſought protection from the Normans by flying into the interior parts of the country, renounced one tyrant for another, by being immediately reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude. Strangers were not, in this inſtance, liable to a better fate; for when it became neceſſary to reform theſe cuſtoms, his goods, although his perſon had been free, fell, by his death, to the lord of the territory.

So

So little ſafety was there for travellers, that it became highly dangerous for a perſon to attempt to remove from the ſpot in which he reſided. Such as did travel were obliged to form themſelves into aſſociations for ſecurity. The highways were overrun with banditti, under which denomination the petty barons may have a diſtinguiſhed place: even the Centenarii, the inferior judges, in the reign of Charles the Bald, were obliged to take an oath that they would neither commit depredations themſelves, nor protect thoſe who were guilty of violence. Theſe ferocious manners were not confined to the nation we have now in review, but alike extended over the greater part of the European world. A. D.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE REIGN OF ROBERT THE FIRST.

The tranquillity of the kingdom diſturbed by the Church of Rome—Gregory the Fifth excommunicates Robert, with his Queen, and lays the kingdom under an interdict—He is obliged to part with Bertha, and eſpouſes Conſtance—His war againſt the Count of Champagne, followed by thoſe of Burgundy and Flanders—Robert aſſociates his ſon Hugh, and proceeds with ſeverity againſt a new ſect—His interview with the Emperor Conrad—The French Monarch refuſes the

A. D. imperial crown—Loſes his eldeſt ſon, aud aſſociates his ſecond ſon Henry—The violence of his Queen—Death and character of Robert—Calamities of his reign.

996. THE wiſdom of Capet had been conſpicuous in the aſſociation of his ſon Robert in the regal dignity. Accuſtomed for five years to ſee him a partaker of the cares of government, the nobles recognized him, without heſitation, as the repreſentative of his father. The apparent mildneſs and moderation of his character, and the tranquillity with which he had been received the ſovereign of France, predicted a government that was likely to paſs by undiſtu bed by civil commotion; but, in deſpite of auguries thus favourable, the very firſt year of his reign was marked by turbulence and confuſion.

Robert had unfortunately eſpouſed in his ſecond nuptials Bertha, the widow of the Count of Chartres, and daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy, a princeſs allied to him by blood, in the fourth degree; and to one of her children, by her former marriage, the ſon of Capet had been a ſponſor: and for this double union the forms of the church required a diſpenſation; a conceſſion in thoſe times by no means eaſy to obtain. Deeply mortified at the neglect of the decree made in the council that had been held, in the laſt reign, at Rheims, by which Arnold had been re-ordained to that ſee, but who was ſtill detained in cloſe confinement; the

the Court of Rome menaced the King with the A. D.
thunders of the Vatican, if he did not immediately
divorce himſelf from the partner of his throne; at
the ſame time ſentenced the royal pair to expiate
by a ſeven years penance their forbidden union,
and ſuſpended all the biſhops who had given their
ſanction to this pretended crime.

Unwilling to part with Bertha, and yet anxious
to appeaſe the inexorable pontiff, Robert reſtored
Arnold to the archbiſhopric of Rheims; but Gre-
gory the Fifth, who then filled the papal chair,
perſiſting in his original demand, in the enſuing
year fulminated his ſentence of excommunication
againſt the Gallic Monarch and his Queen; and,
with an audacity hitherto without example, laid
the whole kingdom under an interdict, by which
the members of the Gallican church were forbid-
den to celebrate divine ſervice, to adminiſter the
ſacrament to adults, or to inter the dead in conſe-
crated ground.

A general conſternation pervaded France; and 998.
ſo great was the effect of this arbitrary decree upon
the minds of men, that Robert found himſelf
abandoned, not only by the nobles and the pre-
lates, but even by his domeſtic ſervants, of whom
only two continued their attention; and in ſuch
dread were they of being polluted by the touch of
the excommunicated, that they purified by the
flames the very utenſils which were uſed for the
royal table, and not only refuſed to partake, but
conſigned

A. D. conſigned to the hunger of the dogs the remaining viands. The murmurs of the people, and the general deſertion of all deſcriptions of men, at length determined the King to ſubmit to the inſolence of the Pope; and having been divorced from the Queen, he ſoon after contracted an alliance with Conſtance, daughter of William, Count of Provence, a woman of uncommon beauty, but capricious, imperious, and the cauſe of infinite diſquiet not only to Robert, but inſupportable, from her ungovernable paſſions, to the whole kingdom.

998-1017 No ſooner was this new marriage celebrated, than his attention was directed to Eudes, Count of Champagne, the ſon of his late queen, who had ſeized upon the city of Melun, belonging to one of his vaſſals, in whoſe defence he took up arms. Aſſiſted by Richard, the ſecond Duke of Normandy, he inveſted, and ſpeedily reduced that place: Gautier, the governor, who had delivered up the town, was, with his conſort, ſeized and hanged at the gates of the city, a puniſhment that had been heretofore ſolely confined to ſuch of the nobility as had been convicted of treaſon.

This affair thus terminated, a new war was excited in Burgundy, and which was not ſo eaſily appeaſed. Henry, the brother of Hugh Capet, dying without legitimate iſſue; Robert, as his legal inheritor, found his claim diſputed by Otho-William, the ſon-in-law of the late Duke, by whom he

he had been adopted his ſucceſſor, and who poſ- A. D.
ſeſſed himſelf of the principal cities of the duchy. The powerful aſſiſtance of the Duke of Normandy, who led in perſon an army of two and twenty thouſand men, ſecured to Robert that valuable acquiſition, after a five-years war ſupported with inflexible ſpirit by the Burgundians; who, finding themſelves equally the prey of both parties, and having beheld many of their moſt beautiful cities conſumed by the flames, or overturned to their foundations, and the inhabitants perſecuted by the victor with the moſt unrelenting ſeverity, ſubmitted at length to the ſuperior power of the French King, who beſtowed the conteſted province upon Henry, his ſecond ſon; and Otho-William, retiring beyond the Soane, became the founder of a line, long celebrated as Counts of Burgundy.

The Gallic Monarch took an active part in the war that was begun in Flanders between Baldwin, Count of that country, and Arnold, Count of Valenciennes, from whom the former had wreſted that city. The Emperor, Henry the Second, eſpouſed with warmth the cauſe of his vaſſals; while Robert, from the ſame motives, as ſtrenuouſly defended the pretenſions of his. The town was beſieged by the imperial arms; but the vigour of the Flemiſh, the Norman, and the French troops, rendered their aſſaults unavailing: a compromiſe took place; and the object of contention was ceded to Baldwin,

upon

A. D. upon condition of his holding it in vaſſalage from the German Monarch.

An interval of tranquillity, and the ſolicitations of his queen, induced the King to turn his thoughts to thoſe meaſures the moſt likely to preſerve to his family the ſucceſſion of the crown: purſuing therefore the example of his father, he aſſociated with him his eldeſt ſon Hugh, a prince of conſiderable hopes and abilities, in the adminiſtration of his kingdom.

1022—26 In the following year, upon the report of an hereſy, introduced by an Italian devotee, reſembling, in ſome meaſure, the profeſſions of the ſect of the Manichæans, but more infamous in its tenets; Robert, to check the progreſs of a doctrine ſo repugnant to morality, aſſembled a council at Orleans, and, tranſported by his religious fervor, proceeded with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the deluded fanatics; and, contrary to the ſentiments of moderation and humanity ſo generally imputed to his character, aſſiſted with his queen at the inhuman ſpectacle, where numbers of theſe unhappy people were condemned to the flames.

From this period, an interval elapſed of nine years without the intervention of any event of material conſequence, excepting the private diſputes of the great vaſſals of the crown, in which the King ſeldom offered his interference, but when the

ſafety

ſafety of the kingdom was endangered by their turbulence. A. D.

Upon the return of the Gallic Monarch from Rome, whither he had been led by his piety to viſit the tomb of the Apoſtles, he repaired to the borders of the Meuſe, to ſettle ſome diſputes between the Emperor Henry, and his vaſſals, that had been referred to his arbitration; and here, a perſonal interview taking place, the two monarchs renewed the alliance between their reſpective dominions; ſettled the affairs upon which they had met, to the ſatisfaction of all parties; and, after having exchanged magnificent preſents, entered into a mutual promiſe to repair together to Pavia, to compel the Pope, Boniface the Eighth, to a ratification of ſome conteſted rights, which they were anxious ſhould, in an amicable manner, be determined. The death of the Holy Father put an end to the projected journey; and the Emperor Henry ſunk into the tomb a ſhort time after, and in the ſame year.

Upon the demiſe of this prince, the laſt of the Saxon line of Emperors, the Italians made a tender of the Imperial crown to Robert. Wiſely forſeeing the conſequences that ſuch an acceptation would probably produce; Conrad, Duke of Franconia, being already in poſſeſſion of the German territories; he prudently declined the ſplendid offer. Directing his wiſhes towards Lorraine, which, during the troubles that in the preceding reigns convulſed

A. D. convulſed the dominions of France, had been diſmembered from the Gallic crown, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to regain that duchy; but the power and authority of his rival becoming daily more formidable, he forbore the proſecution of his intentions.

1026—31 At this time he ſuſtained a moſt afflicting loſs, in the death of his eldeſt ſon Hugh; a privation the more ſenſibly affecting, as he was a prince in the flower of his age, and of a diſpoſition to conciliate the general affection, and to deſerve the regrets and lamentations of the people. He had been induced, ſome years before, to take up arms againſt his father; and this appears to have been the only ſtain to fully a character that was, in other reſpects, ſo amiable and perfect. His aſſociate in the kingdom—he had been debarred, by the imperious Conſtance, of any ſhare in the government, and without the allowance of a ſufficient revenue to ſupport the dignity of his ſtation; a mortification ſo ſeverely felt, that he had withdrawn himſelf from the court, and, joined by many of the young nobility, had been encouraged to revolt. His docile diſpoſition was ſoon melted by the conciliatory remonſtrances of him to whom he owed his being; and who, inſtead of purſuing the rigid exhortations of the Queen to proceed to extremities with his ſon, had recourſe to the mild and parental tenderneſs of his breaſt. The delinquent was prevailed upon to liſten to reaſon, to acknowledge his errors,

rors, and return to his duty; and, from that time, A. D.
he had ſubmitted himſelf with chearful reſignation to his authority and will.

The affliction of the King was equal to the magnitude of his loſs; and he ſought to repair his recent misfortune by the aſſociation of Henry, the eldeſt of his ſurviving ſons; but in this meditated conſolation he was warmly oppoſed by the partiality of his queen, who was anxious to ſee elevated to that ſtation, her youngeſt ſon, Robert. Her endeavours proved abortive, and Henry was anointed and crowned at Rheims.

Upon this event the violence of Conſtance knew no bounds: attempting to excite the brothers againſt each other, and failing in her projects, ſhe became the determined perſecutor of both. Driven by her machinations from the court, they took up arms in their defence: the Gallic Monarch purſued his former maxims of tenderneſs and peace; and his ſons ſpeedily returned to the protection of the ſovereign, and to the forgiveneſs of the parent.

This event was the laſt in the life of Robert: he died at Melun, in the month of July, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and in the ſixty-firſt year of his age. He had four ſons; Hugh, who was taken off before him, Henry, Robert, and Eudes; and two daughters, Adelaide and Adele.

In an extended reign, many years of which were marked by tranquillity, which France had not been accuſtomed to enjoy, there does not appear to

A. D. to have accrued to the ſubjects of Robert any bleſſ-
ings, in conſequence of this deſirable repoſe. His devotion and charity, his reverence to the church, and foundations of places of worſhip, have not been paſſed by without the panegyric of the monks; nor has there been any monarch upon whom hiſtorians have laviſhed a more warm and grateful commendation.

There are not, if we compare his conduct to that of his predeceſſors, any glaring inconſiſtencies, or outrageous deviations of character; and he may be ſuffered to glide down the ſtream of time, as a ſovereign, who had great opportunities, but little inclination, to do good; and as one who, with ſome power, cannot be cenſured for having done much miſchief.

He compoſed hymns for the choirs; and ſome of his reſponſes ſtill find a place in the public offices of the church. He was a zealous, and as we have had occaſion to obſerve, a ſevere enthuſiaſt in religious affairs; and his touch was applied, the firſt inſtance in hiſtory, for the cure of the king's evil. Too much governed by his queen, whoſe character was, in every reſpect, the reverſe of his own, he ſuffered perpetual diſquiet from the impetuoſity of her diſpoſition.

The peace which his country for ſuch a length of time poſſeſſed, was a mark of his prudence and moderation: and if his kingdom were not happy,

its

its miſery could not be attributed to his folly or ambition, or to the violence of his domeſtic crimes. A. D.

Three dreadful famines deſolated the various provinces of France during his reign: the firſt was general, and ravaged every part of Europe; the ſecond was ſo deplorable in his kingdom, that the graves were made to reſign their dead, and to become the nauſeous preſervation of the wretched ſurvivors. So ſharp and unnatural was the impulſe of hunger, that children were way-laid in the ſtreets, and paſſengers in the woods, to gratify the cravings of this importunate aſſailant. To ſuch an horrid length was this evil extended, that, at Tournay, a butcher covered his ſhambles with the mangled joints of human fleſh; but for this execrable practice he was conſigned to the flames. An inn-keeper, in the vicinity of Mâçon, maſſacred his gueſts, and ſerved up their members for food: ſubſtitute for bread was made with earth and flour, or bran.

This ſcene of miſery was followed by a contagion ſo mortal, that the ſick remained without ſuccour, and the dead without interment; and the credulous hiſtorians of the age believed that theſe evidences of the heavenly wrath were anticipated by numerous and frightful prodigies.

# CHAPTER XX.

## THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FIRST.

Henry finds himſelf in danger of loſing his crown, through the intrigues of his mother—Aſſiſted by the Duke of Normandy, he ſubdues his enemies, pardons, and grants to his brother the duchy of Burgundy; and recompences the ſervices of his ally—The Emperor Conrad becomes the poſſeſſor of the kingdom of Burgundy—The revolt of Eudes, brother to the King—The death of the Duke of Normandy, and the confuſion of that province—Henry aſſiſts William his ſucceſſor, and, ſoon after, becomes his enemy—Wars between the rival Princes—Having ſecured the crown to his ſon, Henry dies—His character.

A. D. 1031. 1040. THE young King was at Langres when he received the account of the death of his father, and was there made acquainted with the unnatural intrigues of his mother, in behalf of her favourite ſon Robert, whom, ſhould her ſchemes of ambition ſucceed, ſhe flattered herſelf ſhe ſhould be able to govern, by that unlimited influence which ſhe held over his youth and inexperience. To pave the way to the accompliſhment of her deſigns, ſhe diſmembered the crown, to allure with its ſpoils, thoſe nobles who profeſſed an attachment to her cauſe. Amongſt the moſt conſpicuous, Eudes, the ambitious Count of Champagne, ever prompt to take up arms againſt his ſovereign, eſpouſed her party,

party, upon the promiſe of being permitted to take poſſeſſion of the city of Sens; and, joined by Baldwin, Count of Flanders, ſeized upon that place, and the principal fortreſſes in its vicinity. A. D.

So rapid were the movements of the malcontents, that Henry, doubtful of his perſonal ſafety, and not knowing upon whom he could rely, haſtily abandoned his capital, and repaired, with a few followers, to the court of Robert the Second, Duke of Normandy. Senſibly touched at his melancholy reverſe of fortune, this generous prince received him with every poſſible mark of reſpect, raiſed a conſiderable force to re-inſtate him in his dominions; and commanded the governors of the frontier towns to ſpread their devaſtations to the gates of the revolted cities, and to proceed, with the utmoſt ſeverity, againſt the inhabitants.

Theſe deciſive meaſures, at once riveted and encouraged the wavering diſpoſitions of the friends of Henry: advancing to Corbeil, with his Norman troops, he encamped under the walls of that town, and was ſpeedily joined by a reſpectable party of his own vaſſals: the revolted cities were ſpeedily taken, or voluntarily ſurrendered to his arms. Eudes was thrice ſubdued by the vigour of his opponent; and Conſtance and her ſon were reluctantly compelled to ſubmit to his ſuperior fortune. Satisfied with his ſucceſs, and anxious to preſerve fraternal peace, the Gallic Monarch received his brother into favour; ſpontaneouſly inveſted him with

A. D. the duchy of Burgundy; and from this Prince commenced that royal branch of ſovereigns which, for the ſpace of four centuries, ruled over thoſe opulent and extenſive territories. The queen-mother did not long ſurvive this amicable negociation, but died at Melun, in the following year, deteſted by all, lamented by none.

To recompence the ſignal aid afforded him by his ally, the King annexed to his duchy, the valuable grant of the cities of Gizors, Pontoize, Chaumont, and the country of the Vexin. More generous than politic, he brought a formidable neighbour almoſt to the centre of his dominions: an ill-judged act of liberality, too frequently repeated, and as often repented of, by his predeceſſors.

The Count of Champagne, with the diſaffected nobles, ſtill in oppoſition, were, in a ſhort ſpace of time, either reduced to ſubmit to the will of their ſovereign, or to quit his dominions; but the reſtleſs Eudes, unwilling to moleſt the tranquillity of a monarch whom he found ſo competent to oppoſe him, and by whom he had been ſo ſeverely humbled,—and yet unable to ſuppreſs his natural inquietude upon the death of Rodolph, King of Burgundy, entered into that province, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a conſiderable portion of thoſe territories.

Conrad, ſurnamed the Salic, Emperor of Germany, had been adopted the ſucceſſor of the dominions

minions of Rodolph, and haſtened to protect and A. D.
ſecure his new acquiſition. Eudes retired before his victorious army; and throwing himſelf into Lorrain, ſeized upon Bar, and ravaged, with fire and ſword, the circumjacent country: but here, arreſted in his courſe of victory by Gothlin, governor of the province, his fate was terminated, in a deciſive victory, under the walls of that city. The Champenois were totally defeated, their Count was ſlain, and France delivered from an enterpriſing and ambitious enemy. He left two ſons, Thibauld and Stephen, who poſſeſſed the genius, as well as the turbulent diſpoſition of their father. By this event the Emperor obtained the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Burgundy, which had continued five hundred years; and from henceforth became a province of the empire, comprehending under that denomination, Provence, Dauphiny, Franche Comté, Savoy, Switzerland, and the Grizons.

Eudes, the youngeſt brother of the Gallic Mo- 1040.
narch, had hitherto remained in ſilence and in- 1046.
action; but not ſatisfied with the contracted eſtabliſhment which was allotted to him, demanded an equal portion of his father's poſſeſſions; and being inſtigated and joined by the ſons of the late Count of Champagne, committed dreadful depredations throughout the kingdom. They were not ſuffered to continue their devaſtations: their forces were every where defeated; Eudes was taken

A. D. and confined three years at Orleans; and Henry added to his territorial poſſeſſions a conſiderable part of the lands of the confederated lords.

The inteſtine troubles of the duchy of Normandy next occupied his attention. Robert, after a reign of ſplendor, had unfortunately embraced the opinions, ſo prevalent, of the times, of the neceſſity of expiating, before the cloſe of his life, thoſe errors to which the human mind are liable, by a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. Not having any legitimate children, he prudently, before his departure, prevailed upon the Norman Lords to acknowledge William, his natural ſon, a prince ſo famous afterwards in hiſtory as the conqueror of England, the ſucceſſor to his dominions; uniting in the truſt repoſed in his ſubjects, the concurrent protection of the Gallic Monarch, and of Alain, Duke of Brittany. Theſe precautions were not ill-timed: Robert died at Nice, on his return from the Holy Land; an event which arouſed the ambition of ſeveral pretenders to his dominions; and the young heir, in his ninth year, ſaw himſelf, rather the inheritor of the wiſhes than of the dominions of his father.

This unhappy province, the prey of the various competitors, preſented a continued ſcene of confuſion, plunder, and of maſſacre. The Duke of Brittany, not unmindful of the truſt that had been delegated to him, repaired to the ſeat of contention, in behalf of his young charge; but his abilities

abilities and valour were unequal to the taſk: he A. D.
was obliged to retire into his own dominions, and died ſoon after, of a poiſon that had been adminiſtered to him in Normandy.

Henry, hitherto a ſpectator of the miſery of the 1046—7
province, ſeemed willing to take advantage of thoſe diſturbances, and actually commenced hoſtilies; but whether repenting of his faithleſs conduct, the remonſtrances of the Norman Court prevailed upon him to adopt more honourable meaſures. He marched with a conſiderable army to the aſſiſtance of William; and, uniting their forces, they proceeded againſt Guy, who had exhibited a claim to the duchy, as being a deſcendant of the Duke, Richard the Second. At Val de Dunes, between Caen and Argentan, the opponents met, and a bloody engagement enſued, in which the King, diſmounted by Haymon, a valiant knight, had loſt his life, had not the zeal of ſome of his attendants, at the riſk of their own, allowed him to remount, and, at the ſame time, with innumerable wounds, diſpatched his aſſailant. The vigorous oppoſition of the enemy proved ineffectual; their armies were cut to pieces; their leader ſeverely wounded, and ultimately conſtrained to retire from the province.

This victory inſured to the Duke of Normandy his inheritance: the diſaffected lords returned to their allegiance; and William, on his part, reſumed his arms to aſſiſt the French Monarch againſt Mar-

A. D. tel, Count of Anjou, one of his vaſſals. At the head of his own, and in junction with the regal troops, he beſieged the malcontents in Herlé, a fortreſs in that province: but Henry, jealous of the riſing fame of his ally, left him to purſue the war; retired into his own dominions; and, upon the breaking out of new diſturbances ſoon after in Normandy, ſupported the Count of Thouloufe againſt him: but that active prince obliged the Gallic troops to retreat with diſgrace, and their king to abandon his new connexion, who obtained, by capitulation, no other terms, but merely his liberty and life.

1047—54 A peace between the rival Princes enſued, but by no means a ſincere reconciliation. Some years afterwards, Henry again commenced hoſtilities, without any apparent cauſe, and poured two numerous armies into Normandy; one of which, led by his brother Eudes, after the capture of Evreux, encamped at Mortemar. The reſources of William were inadequate to oppoſe theſe formidable enemies; but the deficiency of numbers he ſupplied by courage and by conduct. Advancing with celerity towards the latter place, he engaged and totally defeated the Gallic troops; compelled the French Monarch to evacuate his dominions, to ſurrender the caſtle of Tillieres, a fortreſs of conſequence upon the frontiers, and to conſent to ſuch terms as he thought proper to impoſe.

Exhauſted

Exhauſted by fatigue, and afflicted by his recent misfortunes, the health of Henry became precarious, and he found it neceſſary to provide for the ſecurity of his ſucceſſor. Having aſſembled a numerous meeting of nobles and prelates at Rheims, he repreſented to them the ſervices he had done the State, and entreated them to make him ſome requital for his cares, by confirming to his ſon Philip, a youth of ſeven years, the ſucceſſion to the throne. Upon the general acquieſcence, the royal infant was anointed, and crowned by the archbiſhop of that dioceſe; and, at the ſame time, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was appointed guardian to the prince, ſhould his acceſſion to the crown take place before he had arrived at a proper age to take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of his dominions. A. D. 1059.

The King did not long ſurvive this ceremony. In the ſame year having repaired to Vitry, in the vicinity of Paris, a medicine improperly timed, and which, from the rapid effect it had upon his conſtitution, was ſuſpected to have been a deleterious potion, carried him off, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. He left two ſons, Philip and Hugh, by his ſecond wife, Ann, a daughter of Joradiſlaus, Czar of Muſcovy; an extraordinary alliance, at that period of time, when there was ſcarcely any intercourſe with neighbouring potentates! The motive has been imputed to the dread which Henry entertained

A. D. tertained of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, hoping, by ſo remote a connexion, to remove all chance of affinity by blood.

Of the character of this Prince there is little to ſay, in either commendation or cenſure: his reign was long, but undiſtinguiſhed by any ſplendid achievements, or made popular by any uſeful inſtitutions. Warlike without conduct, his arms procured not any laſting eſtabliſhments; nor did he acquire honour from the motives to which he had been induced to employ them. His coolneſs of temper, and his prudence, ſecured to him what his predeceſſors had ſeldom enjoyed—a conſiderable portion of authority. Generous, or rather laviſh, he beſtowed with one hand, while he graſped with the other: but the clergy and the monkiſh hiſtorians are bountiful in their praiſes of his religious fervor and pious foundations.

CHAPTER

# CHAPTER XXI.

## THE REIGN OF PHILIP THE FIRST.

The tranquil regency of the Count of Flanders—The conqueſt of England by William Duke of Normandy—Death of Baldwin—Diſturbances of his family, in which Philip interferes—Of inveſtitures, and the pontificate of Gregory the Seventh—War with England—Philip ſupports the cauſe of Robert againſt his father—William ravages France—His death—The French Monarch divorces Bertha, and eſpouſes the Counteſs of Anjou—He is excommunicated by the Holy See—is abſolved—and is again excommunicated—The diſorders of the kingdom—Philip aſſociates his ſon Lewis, who reſtores ſome degree of order—His ſucceſſes inflame the reſentment of Bertrade, who endeavours to deſtroy him—His reſentment and reconciliation—The Cruſades—The eſtabliſhment of the military and religious orders of the Knights of St. John, the Templars, and Teutonic—Paſcal the Second abſolves Philip—His death and character.

BALDWIN, the fifth Count of Flanders, guardian to the young King, and regent of the kingdom, under the title of Marquis of France, was a nobleman of the moſt ſcrupulous integrity, and highly deſerving of the truſt that had been confided to him. Contrary to the cuſtom that had been ſo generally obſerved, the queen-mother had not been left any interference in the government of the kingdom: a ſtranger in a foreign country, ſhe had not found any partizans to ſupport her in her natural

A. D. 1060—6

A. D. natural claims. The Duke of Burgundy, the uncle of Philip, had been likewiſe excluded from any ſhare in the adminiſtration, as too powerful and too dangerous a nobleman to be about the perſon of his nephew.

The choice of the Count of Flanders reflected credit upon the judgment of Henry: in no inſtance have we met with a minority conducted with ſo much internal happineſs. The ſuppreſſion of the Gaſcons who had preſumed to diſpute his authority, confirmed his power; and ſome domeſtic intrigues which he fortunately diſperſed, rendered his name ſo reſpectable, and his influence unſhaken, that, for the ſpace of ſix years, the dominions of France were not diſturbed by any domeſtic commotion. In preſerving this deſirable tranquillity, he was not unmindful of the dignity of his ſtation. Moderate in his wiſhes, he ſacrificed the ambition of the individual to the real intereſt of his pupil. Deſirous to reſtore into his hands the inheritance of his father, he preſerved, with firmneſs, his authority in the kingdom; and endeavoured to inſtill into his youthful mind the ſalutary doctrines of morality and government, however little he profited from the ſincerity of his exertions.

1066. It was during the minority of this Prince that William, Duke of Normandy, early diſtinguiſhed as a brave and politic prince, effected an entire conqueſt in England. His own dominions, too circumſcribed to ſatisfy his ambitious hopes, and the

the death of his kinſman, Edward the Con- A. D.
feſſor, paved the way for the accompliſhment of
his meditated projects. Founding his claim upon
a pretended will of that monarch, he aſſembled a
numerous force; and landing on the coaſt of
Suſſex, the deciſive battle of Haſtings ſecured to
the fortunate rival of Harold the poſſeſſion of his
ſhort-lived honours.

The Count of Flanders, who, not leſs from policy than intereſt, ſhould have endeavoured to check his enterpriſe, perm tted him to levy troops in France, and in h s own dominions: and, whether awed by the ſuperior power of William, who might turn thoſe arms, deſtined for his Engliſh expedition, againſt the realms of Philip, he rather promoted, by pecuniary aid, the execution of his vaſt deſigns.

To balance, however, the accumulated power 1067—71
of the new Monarch of England, an alliance, for their mutual defence, was entered into by the Crowns of Scotland and France; and Philip, young as he was, yet readily foreſaw the conſequences that would enſue from the acceſſion of territory to his vaſſal. Baldwin ſurvived this event but a ſhort period; and left his pupil at too inexperienced an age for the happineſs of the kingdom, which he had ſo well known how to govern. The youthful King, at the age of fifteen years, thus left without any controul, abandoned to the operations of his own will, gave early indications of thoſe ungovernable,

A. D. governable paſſions which ſo often led him to prefer his intereſt or inclinations to his honour and his happineſs.

His firſt initiation in arms was in ſupport of the family of the late regent, who had left two ſons; Baldwin, his ſucceſſor, and Robert, Count of Friezeland: a diſpute between the brothers was terminated upon the field of battle, by the death of the former; who, having alſo left two ſons, Arnold and Baldwin, too young to ſtem the torrent of the victor, and deprived of their inheritance,—they, with Richilde, their mother, ſought protection at the court of the Gallic Monarch.

1071—6. Philip, with apparent warmth, eſpouſed their cauſe, with a powerful army entered Flanders, and was totally defeated in an engagement at Saint Omers. Severely mortified at this diſgrace, he abandoned the party he had eſpouſed, and embraced the intereſts of Robert, their enemy; and took, for the partner of his throne, Bertha, the daughter of the Count of Friezeland.

It was about this time that the See of Rome was governed by Hildebrand, under the name of Gregory the Seventh, the moſt ambitious and enterpriſing pontiff that had been ever placed in the papal chair. He not only endeavoured to ſhake off all dependance upon Imperial authority; but undertook to diſpoſſeſs them of one of the principal prerogatives of their crown, the right of conferring the paſtoral ring and ſtaff. Henry the Fourth,

Fourth, the Emperor of Germany, reſiſted with firmneſs, the apoſtolical encroachments; and Gregory had the audacity to fulminate the ſentence of excommunication againſt him, pronounced him to be legally depoſed, and abſolved his ſubjects from their accuſtomed vows and allegiance. From hence aroſe that inveterate faction in Italy, ſo well known under the rival names of Guelfs and Gibbelines, that raged, with unabating violence, for half a century; that gave riſe to numerous tumults, diſorders, and aſſaſſinations; and that was the cauſe, during this reign, and that of his ſucceſſors, of ſixty or ſeventy ſanguinary battles, in which the claims of the Holy See in the end prevailed. A. D.

The oppoſition which Gregory met with from Henry, was not ſufficient to check the inſolent uſurpations of that haughty prelate, who preſumed to ſuppoſe himſelf the arbiter of Europe. He depoſed and excommunicated Boleſlas, King of Poland; and Nicephoras, Emperor of the Eaſt, was ſubjected to his arbitrary decrees. Againſt the Norman Princes of Calabria and Apulia, he thundered the ſame anathemas; Spain was more deſpotically humbled; Hungary, Bohemia, Sardinia, and Ruſſia, were only conſidered as fiefs, dependent upon his will. He affected the ſame authority in the dominions of William, King of England, who, however, willing that the payment of Saint Peter's pence, which had been granted by the Saxon Monarchs, ſhould continue to be regularly remitted, diſdaining

A. D. diſdaining to avow his ſpiritual authority, refuſed to do him homage, and forbade the clergy of his kingdom to attend his councils. Gregory was not diſpoſed to treat the French Monarch with leſs rigour than he had done the Emperor; but the diſturbances which at that time ſupervened in Germany and in Italy, found ſufficient employment for his deliberation and his arms.

Philip, more ſucceſsful in a war undertaken to ſupport the Duke of Brittany, againſt the arms of the Engliſh Sovereign, compelled the latter to raiſe the ſiege of Dol, and to retire, with his forces, from the province. A peace, but of ſhort continuance, enſued between the rival crowns. William, previouſly to his departure for England, had declared Robert, his eldeſt ſon, as his ſucceſſor in the duchy of Normandy; and had permitted him to receive the oaths of allegiance from the nobles of that province, as their future ſovereign.

With all the bravery of his family, and the ſpirit of his nation; impatient of controul, and anxious to diſtinguiſh himſelf, the young prince demanded a ſurrender of the promiſed inveſtiture: but the father, not willing to part with any portion of his dominions, while he was in a condition to wield the ſceptre, informed him that he did not intend to diveſt himſelf of his clothes, until the hour in which he went to bed.

Irritated by this refuſal, with ſome attendant cauſes of diſguſt, and at the ſame time ſecretly encouraged

encouraged by the Gallic Monarch, a rupture enſued, which was continued with mutual violence and reſentment. A. D.

The ſon was beſieged by William in the caſtle of Gerberoy, a fortreſs of ſtrength in the neighbourhood of Beauvais, and which had been ceded to him by Philip. In one of thoſe ſallies ſo frequent during the time of the ſiege, Robert chanced to encounter his father, whom, concealed by his helmet, he attacked, diſmounted, and wounded; but, recollecting his voice, ſuſpended the intended blow, and, with tears in his eyes, threw himſelf at his feet, and offered to expiate his rebellion, by any attonement he might order him to make. The King received him into favour; but their reconciliation was but of ſhort duration: perpetual conflicts, no ſooner allayed than reſumed, and in which the French Monarch participated, are the only events that, for a long time, ſeemed to have occupied the attention of the two Courts. 1079—87

At length a ſerious altercation commenced between Philip and William, ariſing from one of thoſe ill-timed pleaſantries, which in their conſequences have produced the moſt unhappy effects. The latter having been confined ſome time to his bed, and being withal extremely corpulent, the former obſerved to one of his courtiers, "That "his brother of England had been long confined "without a proſpect of bringing forth." Provoked at this offenſive ſally, the Engliſh Monarch,

A. D. in a paſſion exclaimed, "That ſo many lights "ſhould be produced at his churching at Notre-"dame, as ſhould afford not any brilliant ſatis-"faction to the French King." Nor was he forgetful of the affront: ſo ſoon as he recovered, he led an army into the Iſle of France; committed horrible devaſtations; and having taken the town of Mante by aſſault, laid the whole place in aſhes.

1087—92 To the violence of this revenge may be attributed the cauſe of his death. Incommoded by the flames that raged all around him, he was anxious to retire from the overwhelming heat which they occaſioned; and impelling his horſe with violence to leap a ditch, the pummel of the ſaddle ſtruck him ſo ſevere a blow upon the ſtomach, that an abſceſs enſued: he was conveyed to Rouen, and died in that city. To Robert he bequeathed the duchy of Normandy, and all his dominions upon the continent: to William, England; and to Henry, independent of conſiderable ſums of money, the poſſeſſions of his mother. The perpetual diſputes of the brothers which enſued, were, at that juncture, highly favourable to the repoſe of France; for, had their union been cemented, the tranquillity of that kingdom would probably have been endangered by their power.

1092. Sunk in the purſuit, as in the gratification of his pleaſures, the perſonal actions of Philip are unmarked but by the licentious irregularity of his manners.

manners. The charms of Bertha had long faded A. D.
under his capricious eye; and, ſeizing upon a convenient pretext of affinity, having divorced, he baniſhed her to Montreuil; carried away by force Bertrade, the wife of the Count of Anjou, and, afterwards, was not aſhamed, and in a public manner, to eſpouſe her.

This ſcandalous procedure brought upon him 1095.
the ſpiritual cenſures of the Court of Rome; and he was ſolemnly excommunicated by Urban the Second, in the famous Council held at Clermont, in which the firſt cruſade was publiſhed for the recovery of the Holy Land. Philip, having apparently ſubmitted, was abſolved; but encouraged by the death of the Pope, and by that of Bertha, he recalled his paramour, and had her crowned as queen of France. In Paſchal the Second, he found as determined an enemy as he experienced in his predeceſſor; and the papal thunders were again fulminated from the Council of Poitiers. Theſe anathemas had a ſenſible effect upon his perſon and authority. France became the theatre of confuſion and violence: his indolent and licentious life induced an unquiet and a daring nobility to aſſume an entire independency. The petty barons overran the provinces with impunity, cut off the communication between Paris and Orleans; nor could the Sovereign venture to make an excurſion from the capital to Eſtampes, without a numerous eſcort to enſure his perſonal ſafety. To obviate

A. D. the ill effects of diſorders ſo inſupportable, Philip expected to ſtrengthen his power and intereſt by the aſſociation of his ſon Lewis in the government of his kingdom.

1100. This prince, who had ſcarcely attained the years of manhood, began his military career with ſplendor and ſucceſs. To the vigour of his mind, and to the activity of his conſtitution, might be attributed the humiliation of Bouchard of Montmorency Dreux of Mouchy, Ebles of Roucy, Guy of Rochfort, and ſeveral other lords, who were obliged to ſubmit to the rapidity and perſeverance of his arms. Theſe various encounters, for he was, with a ſmall band of followers, perpetually in the field, flattering as they were to the youthful ardour of his mind, were ſtill enhanced by the victory he obtained over Thibauld, Count of Champange, and the firmneſs with which he oppoſed William Rufus, King of England, who ſought to take advantage of the confuſion of the kingdom, and whom he conſtrained to abandon his enterpriſe, and to lend a favourable ear to terms of peace. Making himſelf the arbiter of the diſputes of the barons, he obliged them to ſubmit to his deciſions; and after ſome inſtances of unavoidable ſeverity, was allowed, by the hiſtorians of the times, to have ſaved the monarchy from ſubverſion, and to have reſtored to the diſtracted country a degree of order from which it had been long a ſtranger.

Theſe

Theſe rapid triumphs of the ſon of Bertha, A. D.
however gratifying they might have been to the Gallic Monarch, inflamed the boſom of Bertrade with rancour and jealouſy. Since her divorce ſhe had borne to Philip two ſons, the eldeſt of whom it was her ambition to ſee placed upon the throne of France; and to remove the only impediment to her wiſhes, ſhe ſcrupled not to employ the moſt violent meaſures. The life of the prince was rendered ſo precarious by the malignity of her arts, that he was glad to retire from the impending tempeſt; and, with the conſent of Philip, repaired, for ſome time, as to a place of ſafety, tothe court of Henry the Firſt, King of England; but even there her malice purſued him. She endeavoured, by forging the royal ſignature, to prevail upon that Monarch to deſtroy his gueſt; but, ſo far was he from attending to the infamous requiſition, that he made the object of her cruelty acquainted with the machinations of his enemy, who, returning to France, demanded juſtice for her inhuman treachery. Alarmed at her danger, the inſidious queen adminiſtered to him a doſe of poiſon, which, although not fatal, was of ſo deleterious a quality as to endanger his life, and to leave, when the baleful effects had been removed, a paleneſs upon his countenance, and a languor in his limbs, which gave an entire turn to the ſtrength of his conſtitution.

A. D. Devoted to the perſon, and ſubſervient to the authority of Bertrade, the deluded Monarch became the mediator between them: and, whether the well-affected penitence of the Queen had allayed the reſentment of Lewis, or melted by the affectionate interference of his father, he conſented to forget the injury he had received, and to accept, as a mark of reconciliation, the town of Pontoiſe, and the country of the Vexin.

It was during the height of theſe domeſtic diſturbances, that all Europe was agitated by the commencement of thoſe celebrated expeditions againſt the Infidels, undertaken by our anceſtors for the recovery of the Holy Land. However wild and extravagant might have been their origin, yet, from their conſequences, they produced, although but ſlowly, very beneficial effects on the manners of thoſe nations, whoſe romantic ſpirit encouraged them to undertake this ſpiritual and extraordinary warfare. Involved as were the wealth and the arms of ſo many neighbouring kingdoms, in this deſtructive enterpriſe, and in which France in particular laviſhed, more than any other, her treaſures and her blood; it ſeems neceſſary that a ſhort account of it ſhould be given in this place; more eſpecially as the power and the influence of the crown became, by this extravagant frenzy, in the progreſs of years very conſiderably extended.

Among

Among the other vaſt ideas which had occupied A. D.
the ambitious mind of Gregory the Seventh, he had revolved the bold deſign of uniting, in a formidable confederacy, the weſtern Chriſtians againſt the Mahometans; but the violence of his proceedings towards the Princes of Europe had created him ſo many enemies, that, ſuſpicious of his intentions, he found them all equally unwilling to afford any encouragement to his undertaking.

The paſſion of pilgrimages to the ſhrines of ſaints and martyrs had long been prevalent; but to the city in which the Meſſiah had ſuffered for the ſins, and near which he had died for the redemption of mankind, this pious duty was not only deemed more meritorious, but, from the expence and dangers with which it was attended, conſidered as an expiation for every crime. A belief which prevailed, at the commencement of the eleventh century, that the end of the world was approaching, the one thouſand years mentioned by Saint John having been accompliſhed, induced numerous enthuaſiaſts to repair to the ſpot in which it was ſuppoſed that Chriſt would appear to try the merits and paſs a judgement upon the iniquities of men.

Jeruſalem, one of the moſt early conqueſts of the ſucceſſors of Mahomet, had been freely opened to the reſort, while under their dominion, of the pilgrims of various nations, who repaired thither, to perform their duties at the holy ſepulchre. From the Caliphs, Syria and Paleſtine had been

A. D. wreſted in the middle of the eleventh century, by the Turcomans or Turks, a Tartar tribe, whoſe ferocious manners and perſecuting ſpirit rendered a viſit to the ſacred place more difficult and dangerous to the piety of ſtrangers.

Thoſe zealots who had proſtrated themſelves before the tomb of Chriſt, inſpired all Europe, upon their return, with indignation at the inſults which they had ſuffered, and the mortifications, either real or imaginary, which they had been obliged to endure. The minds of men, already prepared by the expectation of the coming of their Redeemer, were arouſed to reſentment by the exaggerated accounts of the injuries received by thoſe devotees. A fanatic monk, commonly known by the appellation of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, in Picardy, having performed his pilgrimage to Paleſtine, touched with the exceſſes he had been witneſs to, conceived the bold, and apparently impracticable ſcheme, of leading the armies of the weſt to reſcue the ſacred city from the hands of the Infidels. Ardent in the purſuit of his enterpriſe, he communicated his ideas to Urban the Second, who then filled the papal chair. Seconded by the ſpiritual encouragement of the Holy Father, the zealous promoter of this new frenzy flew from province to province, bare-footed, and with a crucifix in his hand, exhorting, with earneſt enthuſiaſm, the people, wherever he paſſed, to arm in the holy cauſe.

At

At the aſſembly convoked at Clermont, that held at Placentia having proved abortive, the pathetic remonſtrances and exhortations of Urban, and the repreſentations made by Peter of the miſeries endured by the followers of Chriſt, were ſo ſtrong and impreſſive, that all preſent cried out with one ſpontaneous voice, "It is the will of "God, it is the will of God:" words of ſo memorable an import, and deemed ſo much the reſult of divine inſpiration, that they were taken as the motto for the ſacred ſtandard, and were obſerved by the followers of the croſs as the ſignal to be uſed as an encouragement to their future expeditions. A. D. 1096.

Men of all ranks and deſcriptions flew to arms—the myſtic ſymbol was adopted as the badge of union, and affixed to the right ſhoulder of ſuch as bore a ſhare in this ſacred warfare. The decrepit, the aged, and the infirm, contributed by preſents to the ſucceſs of the undertaking. Women, forgetting the ſofter manners, and domeſtic occupations of their condition, exchanged the natural timidity of their ſex, and which is one of its moſt amiable ornaments, for the artificial and daring ſemblance of the ſoldier; and, habituated to the diſorders, as the indecencies of the camp, ſoon forgot that modeſty was a diſtinguiſhing feature of the female character. Plenary indulgences were iſſued, with an unſparing hand, by the Court of Rome, to encourage the diſſolute, and to confirm the abandoned. The cruſaders were exempted from all civil

A. D. civil proceſs in matters of debt, and from the ordinary intereſt allowed for the loan of money, taken up to equip them for their ſpiritual undertaking: their taxes were remitted; they were allowed to alienate their lands, without requiring the conſent of their ſuperior lord: anathemas were denounced againſt all ſuch as ſhould, in their abſence, moleſt their poſſeſſions; and a full remiſſion of their ſins was an inviting promiſe to all thoſe who left behind them the endearing ties of conſanguinity and friendſhip, to avenge the inſults offered to the Chriſtian name, by a people whoſe ideas were different in the tenets and practice of religious worſhip. By thus having an opportunity to gratify their favourite paſſion—the love of war; and for the grant of thoſe plenary indulgencies, for which they had been accuſtomed to pay a rigorous compenſation;—ſix millions of men are ſuppoſed, by all contemporary hiſtorians, to have been the infatuated number of thoſe who aſſumed the croſs, in the firſt expedition to Aſia!

The multitude of adventurers ſoon became ſo great, that the principal leaders, among whom the moſt diſtinguiſhed were, Hugh, Count of Vermandois, brother to the King of France, Raymond, of Thouloufe, Robert, of Flanders, Robert, Duke of Normandy, Stephen, Count of Blois, and Godfrey, of Bouillon, Prince of Brabant, politically ſuffered the undiſciplined ſwarms, to the amount of three hundred thouſand, to proceed

ceed before them, leſt their numbers ſhould defeat the purpoſes of the invaſion. A. D.

Conducted by their fanatic leaders, Peter the Hermit, and Walter, ſurnamed the Pennyleſs, and taking their route to Conſtantinople, the place of general rendezvous, through Hungary and Bulgaria, unprovided with every means of ſuſtenance for their long and laborious march,—they ſoon found the neceſſity of ſupplying by plunder, what they had expected to receive by miracle. 1097.

The Jews, as the enemies of Chriſt, were the firſt who felt the fury of their intolerant zeal: in Bavaria alone, twelve thouſand of that perſecuted nation fell a ſacrifice to their unlicenſed barbarity, beſides many thouſand more throughout the different diſtricts of Germany. At length, in Hungary, they found a chaſtiſement for their execrable inhumanity: the inhabitants, enraged at their devaſtations and their cruelties, aroſe to vengeance, and ſlaughtered them without mercy or intermiſſion, and, ſcarcely, on their part, with any ſhow of reſiſtance. With the remnant of this half-famiſhed army, reduced to twenty thouſand men, Peter, reinforced by ſome German and Italian adventurers, in ſorrow and dejection, at length reached Conſtantinople.

The Emperor, Alexis Connenus, who had requeſted the aſſiſtance of the Latin Courts againſt the Turks, was aſtoniſhed at their appearance, and of the multitudes that he was informed were about

to

A. D. to advance: he therefore collected them, but not until they had committed innumerable depredations in the neighbourhood of the city, and aſſiſted them in their paſſage over the Boſphorus, where Soliman, Soldan of Nice, fell upon them with a cruel carnage, and cut almoſt all of them to pieces. Peter, however eſcaped, and returned in ſafety to the Imperial city, whence he had, with a more flattering augury, ſo recently departed.

Such was the deplorable fate of the firſt body of adventurers! Mean time the more diſciplined armies proceeding ſlowly, arrived at the general rendezvous. They were here joined by Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, the ſon of Guiſcard, the conqueror of Sicily. The Emperor, a politic and ſubtle prince, after various diſputes with the leaders of the expedition, who were too much in want of his aſſiſtance to proceed to extremities, in conſequence of their engagement to do him homage for the countries they expected to ſubdue, aſſiſted them with proviſions, and furniſhed them with a navy to tranſport them into Aſia.

Aſſembled on the ſhores of the Boſphorus, the cruſaders amounted, upon a general review, to one hundred thouſand horſe, and to ſix hundred thouſand foot; an army ſufficient to ſubjugate the globe, had they been commanded by leaders of authority, or had that union ſubſiſted in their councils,

councils, which is ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the ſucceſs of diſtant and important enterpriſes. A. D.

The firſt attempt of this prodigious force, was the ſiege and the capture of Nice, with the defeat of two armies, under the command of Soliman the Soldan and his ſon. Theſe victories enſured to them the obedience of the principal cities in the vicinity, which opened their gates to receive the conquerors. Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, penetrated into Meſopotamia, took Edeſſa, and was acknowledged the ſovereign of that country. Antioch, the capital of Syria, and the reſidence of another Soldan, was ſurrendered after a memorable ſiege of ſix months, and by treachery, to the politics of Bohemund; and a prodigious army of the Infidels, which had advanced to the ſuccour of the place, fell unhappy victims to the better fortune of the aſſailants. 1098.

This recent ſucceſs, by ſecuring Antioch, opened for the cruſaders the way to the holy city. Proceeding along the borders of the Syrian ſhore, and attended by a fleet of Engliſh, Flemiſh, Norman, and Italian ſhips, Ptolemais, now Saint John of Acre, with the principal cities in their route, ſucceſſively fell into their victorious hands. Arriving at length at the deſtined ſpot, the memorable ſiege of the city began.

Jeruſalem, under the dominion of the Caliph of Egypt, who had recently recovered it from the Turks, was defended by a garriſon of forty or fifty

A. D. fifty thouſand men; while the forces of the beſiegers, reduced by the numerous detachments withdrawn from the main body of their army, to ſecure their conqueſts, independently of the melancholy proportion that had been ſwept off by fatigue, famine, ſickneſs, and other concomitant evils of the climate, were reduced to the inadequate complement of two or three and twenty thouſand men. But the enthuſiaſtic valour by which they were inſpired, ſupplied the deficiency of numbers, bore down all oppoſition, overcame all obſtacles; and after an inveſtment of five weeks, the object of their wiſhes was taken by aſſault. Their rage extended to a general deſtruction. Neither ſex nor age were ſpared in the undiſtinguiſhing ſlaughter: all who were not Chriſtians were offered up to the mercileſs ſword of the fanatics; the ſtreets were covered with the ſlain; and while the ground was ſtill ſtreaming with blood, theſe unfeeling conquerors at once paſſed from the horrors of carnage to the devotions of piety; and, throwing aſide their arms, dared to lay their hands, empurpled by the maſſacre of their fellow-creatures, upon the ſepulchre of their Redeemer—whoſe patient endurance, and whoſe benevolent precepts, had ſo pathetically recommended to his followers the practice of forbearance, and the doctrines of peace! Habited in the ſimple garb of pilgrims, with bending knees and naked feet, they approached the tomb of Chriſt, and diſſolved in tears

tears at the recollection of his ſufferings. How various are the turns of the human mind! how difficult is it to reconcile inconſiſtencies ſo glaring! and to aſſocaite with the moſt weak and effeminate ſuperſtition the moſt wanton acts of outrage and barbarity! A. D.

Now maſters of the capital of Judæa, they elected for their chief, and with ſovereign authority, Godfrey, Prince of Brabant, from whoſe wiſdom and abilities they promiſed themſelves a ſtrenuous protector againſt their numerous and ſurrounding enemies. He has been ſtyled by moſt authors, King of Jeruſalem; but it is certain that he never aſſumed the regal title, nor inveſted himſelf with even the ornaments of royalty: and the defeat of a prodigious force, led by the Soldan of Egypt, to recover the captured city, marked the commencement of his adminiſtration, and juſtified the choice of his aſſociates. 1099.

The rumour of theſe heroic deeds excited among thoſe who had not been of the firſt expedition an ardent deſire to ſignalize their valour. Another army of three hundred thouſand men, under the conduct of Hugh, brother to the French Monarch, and the Count of Blois, who had returned from the Holy land, were ſpeedily aſſembled: but of this multitude the greater number were deſtroyed before they reached their place of deſtination, by the Soldan of Nice: and Hugh, dangerouſly wounded, fell a victim to the undertaking at Tarſus,

A. D. ſus, in Cilicia. Such as eſcaped the ſword of the enemy repaired to the new Sovereign of Jeruſalem, who was, in the enſuing year, ſucceeded, in his tranſitory honours, by Baldwin, the conqueror of Edeſſa.

To theſe expeditions the military and religious Orders of the Knight Hoſpitaliers, Templars, and Teutonics, are indebted for their origin. The firſt were afterwards known by the name of the Knights of St. John of Jeruſalem; in more modern times, by thoſe of Rhodes, and Malta: and under which latter appellations they have been ſingularly diſtinguiſhed by their intrepid reſiſtance to the arms of the Ottoman Empire.

Coats of arms were alſo firſt introduced about the time of the cruſades by the knights; who, caſed up in armour, could only be diſtinguiſhed by the devices of their ſhields, and which were gradually adopted by their poſterity, proud of the military and pious enterpriſes of their anceſtors.

1104. While theſe great events were paſſing in Aſia, an indeciſive council was held at Baugency, and afterwards referred to Paris. Philip was again abſolved; and as the Counteſs of Anjou ſtill continued to be regarded as his queen, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the marriage was acknowledged, notwithſtanding the ſilence of contemporary hiſtorians, and the inflexible oppoſition of the Sovereigns of Rome.

Far

Far from poſſeſſing the religious enthuſiaſm of A. D.
the age, the French King took advantage of the
ſuperſtitious frenzy of his ſubjects to re-unite to his
crown the demeſnes of ſuch lords as thought pro-
per to alienate their lands, to furniſh themſelves
with the neceſſary means to undertake an expedition
to Paleſtine.

The latter years of this prince were paſſed in 1108.
tranquillity; nor does any memorable event occur,
during the remainder of his reign. He died at
Melun, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, after
having wielded the ſceptre forty-eight. By his firſt
queen, who died of a broken heart at Montreuil,
the place of her baniſhment, he left Lewis, ſur-
named the Groſs, from his extraordinary corpulency
at the cloſe of his life; and Conſtance. The
children of Bertrade were, Philip, Count of
Mante, Fleury, Ciceley, and Euſtaſia.

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We are here preſented with a long reign, not
made conſpicuous by any acts of internal ſplendor.
Unfaithful to his word, unſteady in his general
conduct, and irregular in his deſires, Philip drew
upon himſelf the reſentment of the clergy, and
the hatred and contempt of his ſubjects.

Devoted to the tranquil pleaſures of his court,
his talents were alike unequal to the contentions of
the field, in which, when called upon, he was

 moſtly

A. D. moſtly unſucceſsful, as they were inadequate to the more uſeful arts of legiſlation; nor were the ſoftneſs of his manners, and the exterior graces of his perſon, any recompence for the meanneſs of his conceſſions to the Court of Rome, and for the confuſion and diſtreſs to which his vices had ſubjected the kingdom.

It was during the reign of this Monarch, that the religious orders of Chartreux, Ciſteaux, and the canons regular of Saint Auguſtine, were firſt inſtituted; and although his career, as a king, was not brilliant, yet the period in which he poſſeſſed the throne, will always be remembered as that in which the frenzy of one man lighted up the torch that was to conſume Jeruſalem, depopulate Judæa, and waſh its plains with the blood of millions of ſuperſtitious and unprincipled fanatics.

CHAPTER

# CHAPTER XXII.

## THE REIGN OF LEWIS THE SIXTH, SURNAMED THE GROSS.

Lewis is crowned by the Archbiſhop of Sens—His contracted territories, and his war with his vaſſals—The affairs of England, and war with that kingdom—No memorable event—Peace concluded, and hoſtilities again commence—Lewis is defeated, and the Count of Flanders is ſlain—A peace—Lewis ſupports the ſon of Robert—A formidable confederacy againſt the Engliſh Monarch—Their ſucceſs—Henry reduces the revolted Lords, defeats Lewis at Brenneville—A peace—The domeſtic misfortunes of Henry, which renew the intrigues in Normandy—The Emperor enters into an alliance with the King of England—Preparations of Lewis, which terminate in peace—He aſſociates his ſon Philip, upon whoſe death his ſecond ſon Lewis ſucceeds to his dignity—The marriage of that Prince—Death and character of the King—His eſtabliſhment of communities.

UNWILLING to accept the crown from Rodolph, Archbiſhop of Rheims, who, conforming to the papal decree reſpecting inveſtitures, had taken poſſeſſion of that ſee without his conſent; Lewis-Thibaut received the diadem and regalia at Orleans, from the hands of Daimbert, Archbiſhop of Sens. The former Prelate inveighed with bitterneſs againſt this innovation; but the Biſhop of Chartres made it evident, that the kings A. D. 1108.

A. D. of France might be conſecrated in whatever place they thought proper; and inſiſted beſides, that the tranquillity of the kingdom required an immediate performance of the accuſtomed ceremony.

Diſappointed in his hopes, and dreading the reſentment of his ſovereign, who had ordered the revenues of the biſhopric to be depoſited in the hands of his officers; the indignant Rodolph gave up his oppoſition, and, repairing to Orleans, there tendered, with humility, his oath of allegiance: while the Holy Father, too much occupied by his diſagreement with the Emperor, Henry the Fifth, was obliged to diſſemble; and the ſpirit of Lewis thus preſerved the valuable privilege of granting the eccleſiaſtical benefices within his own domains.

This important ceremony was, however, ineffectual to ſecure the tranquillity of France. The commencement of the reign of Lewis was marked by diſturbances, to ſuppreſs which it was neceſſary to call forth the accuſtomed vigour of his arms.

The royal demeſnes were conſiderably more circumſcribed at the acceſſion of this prince than they were at the death of the founder of his race; and the perſonal poſſeſſions in which he enjoyed any real ſubſtance of authority, were confined to the cities of Paris, Orleans, Compiegne, Melun, Eſtampes, Bourges, and a few more inconſiderable places

places in their vicinity; while the territories of his immediate vaſſals were ſo intermixed with, and ſcattered throughout, the royal lands, that they divided the forces, and weakened the ſtrength of their ſovereign. A. D.

He had ſcarcely acceded to the throne of Philip, when he found himſelf obliged to take the field, to repulſe their daring encroachments. The Counts of Rochfort, Montlery, and Corbeil, the heads of the confederacy that had been entered into to oppoſe his authority, were compelled to ſubmit; and the fortreſs of Puiſet, which place alone perſevered againſt his arms during the ſpace of three years, he razed to the ground. The Count of Coucy, and Philip, Count of Mante, the laſt of whom was a ſon of the late King and Bertrade, in the height of their rebellion and ſucceſs, committed the moſt wanton acts of devaſtation and cruelty; pillaging churches, ſacking towns, burning villages, and murdering prieſts. Lewis, having taken Creſſy, Nogent, and Mante, diſperſed their armies; and, with the malcontent lords, obliged them to return to their wonted obedience.

Theſe expeditions, leſs ſplendid than uſeful, were performed at different periods of time; but it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to aſcertain the preciſe years in which they were undertaken.

A. D. Having incapacitated the moſt turbulent from giving him any farther diſturbance; his attention was directed to a more formidable competitor, and to whoſe ſecret influence might be attributed the reſiſtance which the Gallic Monarch had experienced from his ſubjects.

Henry the Firſt, the youngeſt ſon of William the Conqueror, had, upon the death of his brother Rufus, ſeized the vacant throne. Upon the return of Robert, the lawful claimant, from the Holy Land, he not only refuſed to forego any part of the uſurped poſſeſſions, but to this act of violence ſuperadded one of injuſtice and cruelty. Not ſatisfied with having deprived him of the Engliſh crown, he invaded Normandy: the battle of Tenchelray decided the fate of Robert, who, with his ſon William, were made priſoners by the better fortune of the victor; and the royal captive was confined for the remainder of his life, a lengthened and a wretched period of twenty-eight years, at Cardiff caſtle, in Glamorganſhire.

Normandy having ſubmitted to Henry, Lewis became ſoon ſenſible of the dangerous acceſſion of power, ſo recently obtained by the King of England; and, uniting with the Counts of Flanders and Anjou, fomented the diſcontents of the Norman Barons, and endeavoured to diſturb the tranquillity, as the poſſeſſions of his rival. A war was at length commenced on account of the neutral caſtle of Gizors, ſituated on the frontiers of the

the two kingdoms, conſidered as an impregnable fortreſs, but which the Engliſh Monarch, either by menaces or by bribery, found means to obtain. A. D.

The French Sovereign, unable to bring his competitor to any terms of accommodation, propoſed to determine their pretenſions by a perſonal conflict: but Henry, far from accepting his challenge, replied with raillery to his propoſal. After ſome ineffectual ſkirmiſhes on both ſides, the Kings retired, one to Paris, and the other to Rouen. The Count of Blois and Champagne, nephew to the King of England, and the Duke of Burgundy, took up arms for Henry: ſupported by Robert, Count of Flanders, Lewis was ſoon again in a condition to oppoſe his enemies. After a continuation of two years warfare, not productive of any memorable event, the Engliſh Monarch conſented that William, his only ſon, ſhould do homage to Lewis for the poſſeſſions which he held in France; a ſervice which he would not himſelf conſent to perform: and a peace took place, in which the rebel Lords were included.

Deſtined to be continually in arms, the Gallic Monarch was not allowed any reſpite from the contentions of the field. Ever reſtleſs and diſſatisfied, the Count of Blois renewed his intrigues, and revived the war between the two crowns. Accompanied by the Count of Flanders, Lewis entered the Brie, a diſtrict dependent upon his 1111—1119.

A. D. rebel vaſſal; but here his uſual ſucceſs forſook him; ſurpriſed and defeated by the enemy, he had the misfortune to loſe Robert, his gallant ſupporter, who was trampled to death in their retreat.

Having engaged in his intereſt ſeveral of the Norman Lords, a formidable confederacy was entered into againſt the Engliſh Monarch; who, judging his preſence to be indiſpenſably neceſſary, croſſed the ſea, repaired to the ſcene of commotion, and ſpeedily reduced his revolted ſubjects; obliged Lewis to participate in the peace which enſued, and which he concluded much to his honour and advantage; and augmented his power beſides, by the union of his ſon William with the daughter of the Count of Anjou, upon whom was ſettled the province of Maine, as a nuptial dower.

It was not poſſible, from the ſituation of affairs, that the rival Monarchs could long continue in peace; and the reign of Lewis preſents ſcarcely any event to the attention of the hiſtorian, but a tedious repetition of indeciſive wars, and of treaties no ſooner made than broken.

Having eſpouſed the cauſe of William, the nephew of the King of England, and the ſon of Robert, another confederacy was formed that threatened Henry with more ſerous conſequences than he had hitherto experienced; and the more ſo, as he diſcovered that a conſpiracy was likewiſe in agitation,

agitation, that affected his perſonal ſecurity. So A. D.
ſoon as the Gallic Monarch was prepared to take the field, the liberty of Robert, the captive prince, was peremptorily demanded, and was as obſtinately refuſed. Normandy, with one voice, declared for William. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, advanced to Rouen, and burnt the ſuburbs. The Count of Anjou beſieged and captured Alençon, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places in the province. Amauri of Montfort took poſſeſſion of Evreux; Lewis with his army ſurpriſed Andely, and obtained beſides many fortreſſes of importance upon the river Epte.

The ſpirits of Henry were not depreſſed, nor his exertions remitted, in conſequence of the rapid ſucceſſes of his enemies. Having happily ſuppreſſed his domeſtic diſturbances, and procured the aſſiſtance of Alain, Duke of Brittany, and Thibauld, Count of Champagne, he raiſed a conſiderable force in England, as did his allies in their reſpective demeſnes; and their conduct, and his preſence, very ſhortly made a favourable change in the ſituation of his affairs. Nor were his intrigues leſs conſpicuous than his arms. The Count of Anjou was again detached from the confederacy; and, in a ſkirmiſh that took place near Eu, the Count of Flanders was mortally wounded; and many of the Norman Nobility were obliged to ſurrender themſelves, and to haye recourſe to the clemency of the victor.

Inflamed

A. D. Inflamed by ſucceſs, he determined to purſue his advantages. Overtaking the French army, commanded by Lewis, in its march to ſurpriſe the city of Noyon, they engaged upon the plains of Brenneville in the diſtrict of the Vexin: and here fortune ſeemed inclined to favour his rival, when the precipitate valour of the Gallic King, too imprudently eager in the purſuit of victory, decidedly loſt him the day. During the heat of the engagement the rival Princes were both in danger of being ſlain or taken; and it was with difficulty that the French Monarch, after having been diſmounted, effected his eſcape, and arrived in ſafety at the town of Andely.

Unable to wreſt Normandy from the Engliſh Sovereign, Lewis had recourſe to the ſpiritual interference of the Holy See; a dangerous expedient, as it afforded the eccleſiaſtical power a warrantable pretence, they were but too ready to aſſume, of interfering in the temporal concerns of princes!

1119—1128. Caliſtus the Second then occupied the papal chair; and, in a council held at Rheims, the liberal preſents, and the artful promiſes of Henry, prevailed over the complaints of Lewis, and the intereſt of William, the Norman prince. The French Monarch was again neceſſitated to accept of peace; in which the pretenſions of the ſon of Robert were unregarded and forgotten.

The

The ſatisfaction which Henry received from the ſucceſs of his arms, was but of ſhort continuance; and was bitterly allayed by a cataſtrophe that enſued, and which threw a cloud over the future proſpects of his life. William, his only legitimate ſon, having embarked at Barfleur on his return to England, the veſſel in which he was, with ſeveral of the natural children of Henry, and a numerous aſſemblage of young nobility, ſtruck upon a rock at the entrance of the port; and the ill-fated prince, with all his retinue, unfortunately periſhed. This tragic event renewed the factions of the ſon of Robert, who was ſtill protected by Lewis; and the Norman Lords, conſidering Henry as an uſurper, were impatiently deſirous to reſtore to their lawful prince, the dominions of his father. A. D.

To ſtrengthen his power, the King of England entered into an alliance with the Emperor, Henry the Fifth; and both Monarchs were to pour their forces into France at the ſame time. The latter Prince, whoſe reſentments had been a long time ſecretly concealed againſt the Gallic Monarch, for having ſuffered the Pope, at a council convened at Rheims, to launch his anathemas againſt him, and bent upon the deſtruction of that city, raiſed a formidable army, with a reſolution to level its walls to their foundations; but this powerful confederacy, inſtead of intimidating the ſubjects of France, inſpired them with a general and determined

A. D. mined oppoſition. The great vaſſals of the crown, even to the moſt diſaffected, were alike actuated by the ſame ſpirit, and brought their numerous retainers to the field; and Lewis found himſelf at the head of an army of two hundred thouſand men, ſteadily prepared to baffle the hoſtile efforts of their enemies. The ſpontaneous union of ſuch a nation, animated by one ſentiment, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the mind of the Emperor, that he thought it prudent to decline the menaced danger; and repaſſing the Moſelle and the Rhine, concluded a war before it could well be ſaid to have begun.

It was upon this occaſion that the famous ſtandard, known by the name of the Oriflamme, was diſplayed at the head of the French army. The King, repairing to St. Denis, received from the hands of the Abbot of that monaſtery, the conſecrated banner, which had been hitherto only carried in ſolemn proceſſions in honour of their ſaint, or uſed in the private wars of the monks of that abbey. The Counts of Vexin, the advocates or protectors of the convent, whenever they went upon a military expedition, removed it from the altar, and with great pomp reſtored it to its place, upon the termination of the campaign. That diſtrict being re-united to the crown in the laſt reign, the charge of it had devolved to the ſovereign. Lewis was the firſt king who had thus taken it; and to his ſucceſſors it became the principal

cipal enſign, and was confided, in times of ſer- A. D.
vice, to ſome diſtinguiſhed knight.

The French Monarch, a victor without a battle, and at the head of ſo fine an army, would have employed his ſtrength againſt the King of England; but the intereſt of the prince was not that of his vaſſals; and thoſe lords who had taken up arms, with ſo much zeal, againſt the encroachments of a ſtranger, refuſed to weaken their powers by aſſiſting to humble a feudatory.

Foulk, Count of Anjou, afterwards King of Jeruſalem, upon the demiſe of Baldwin the Second, had, at the commencement of the war, embraced the party of the ſon of Robert, and had given to him his daughter in marriage; but Henry, the Engliſh Monarch, induced him once more to abandon the cauſe he had eſpouſed; and, to ſecure him ſtill further in his intereſts, he beſtowed upon his ſon, Geoffrey Plantagenet, his only daughter, Matilda, the heireſs of his dominions, and recently become a widow by the death of the Emperor, Henry the Fifth. Having humbled his Norman barons, a peace was concluded between the two Crowns; but which did not prevent the Sovereigns of both realms from aiding the diſaffected ſubjects of their reſpective dominions.

Lewis had given to the ſon of the unhappy Robert, the country of the Vexin for his ſupport; and, upon the death of the Count of Flanders, without immediate heirs, he put the young prince

into

A. D. into the poſſeſſion of that diſtrict: but William ſurvived only a ſhort time this acceſſion of power, and which promiſed to open the way to ſtill farther proſperity. He loſt his life in conſequence of a wound which he received in a ſkirmiſh againſt Thierry, Count of Alſace, his competitor for Flanders, and who, by this event, ſecured the conteſted province.

1129. Finding his health conſiderably impaired, the French Monarch aſſociated his eldeſt ſon Philip in the government of the kingdom: the young Sovereign enjoyed his ſplendid elevation but a ſhort time, when a fall from his horſe in the ſuburbs of Paris put an end to his ſhort-lived honours; and Lewis, the ſecond ſon of the King was raiſed to his dignity, and received the accuſtomed unction from the hands of the Roman Pontiff, Innocent the Second, who was at that time in France; to which court the troubles in his capital had compelled him to ſeek protection.

1135. The coronation of the young Prince, in the preſence of the Holy Father, and four hundred biſhops, with a numerous aſſemblage of the principal nobility of the realm, ſecured the tranquillity of the kingdom, and which was farther confirmed by the death of Henry, his powerful and more politic rival.

The civil wars that enſued in England, in conſequence of this event, between Matilda, the daughter, and Stephen, Count of Bologne, the nephew

nephew of that Monarch, offered a favourable opportunity to Lewis of re-annexing Normandy to his dominions; but his infirmities had given a different turn to his thoughts; and he conceived the idea of renouncing the ſplendors of royalty for the humble habit of the order of Saint Benedict. His diſorder had reduced him to ſo low a ſtate, that, conſidering his end approaching, he drew his ſignet from his finger, and putting it upon that of the prince, his ſon, repeated to him thoſe memorable words, ſo neceſſary to be inſtilled into the minds of all ſovereigns: "Remember, and "ever hold before your eyes, that the regal dig-"nity, to which you are called, is but a public "employment, and for which, in a future ſtate, "you muſt be accountable to the divine tri-"bunal." He recovered, however, from the apparent danger of his complaint; but forebore, ever afterwards, to make uſe of the enſigns of royalty. His languor ſoon returning, he anticipated, with ſilent compoſure, his expected end. Previouſly to this awful event, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his ſon Lewis united to Eleanor, the heireſs of William, the ninth Duke of Aquitaine and Guienne, who died in his pilgrimage to the ſhrine of Saint James of Compoſtella, bequeathing his dominions to his daughter, upon the expreſs condition of her eſpouſing the young prince, and which compriſed an extent of territory, little inferior to the demeſnes of the crown. The cere-

A. D.

mony

A. D. mony was performed with great pomp at Bordeaux: the newly-married couple repaired to Poitiers, and Lewis was there crowned Duke of Guienne, which title he always afterwards uſed in his public acts.

1137. The days of the Gallic Monarch were now numbered; and the grave was opened to receive a ſovereign, one of the beſt that had been ſeated on the throne of France. In the ſixty-firſt year of his age, and in the twenty-ninth of his reign, he yielded up his crown and life. By Adelaide, his queen, the daughter of Humbert, Count of Maurienne and Savoy, he left Lewis, ſurnamed the Young, his ſucceſſor; Henry, Archbiſhop of Rheims; Robert, Philip, Peter, and Conſtance, who firſt eſpouſed Euſtace, ſon of Stephen, Count of Bologne; and ſecondly, Raymond Count of Thouloufe.

It is with pleaſure that we hang upon the character, and record the virtues of this Prince, than whom, in the extended race of the Capetian Kings, we ſhall not meet with one more worthy of public admiration, more uncontaminated by vice, and more entitled to private applauſe.

Poſſeſſed of thoſe diſtinguiſhing qualities that form the hero—activity, valour, and intrepidity; to theſe he added thoſe milder attainments which make a ſovereign the father of his people. Gentle in his manners, and kind to his domeſtics; equitable to his ſubjects, and ſteady in his application

to

to government, he conciliated the affections of the last, and ſecured the duty of the firſt. Pious without ſuperſtition, liberal without oſtentation, chaſte and undebauched by the corruption of the times, he ſet an example of modeſty and order, for which, as he had not a precedent, he is entitled to particular commendation. A. D.

Had he attained more of the political wiſdom that Henry, his competitor, had acquired; and had ſtudied the vices of hypocriſy and diſſimulation, inſtead of making honeſty and ſincerity the baſes of his general conduct; the French hiſtorians allow that he would have ſurpaſſed the moſt illuſtrious of his predeceſſors. In the various ſcenes of difficulty and danger which he had to encounter, his abilities were no leſs conſpicuous than his virtues. Had he lived in times which would have afforded a more ample field for the diſplay of his goodneſs and his talents, his heart and his head would have reflected honour upon the moſt brilliant annals; as the eſtabliſhments of his reign will be diſtinguiſhed as the epoch of the firſt dawn of civilization and regularity that had been obſerved in thoſe dominions.

To create a power to counterbalance that of his potent vaſſals, he enfranchiſed his bondmen, granted charters of community to the towns within his demeſnes, conferring upon them new privileges, or rather withdrawing thoſe heavy grievances that had been gradually impoſed upon

A. D. freemen; permitting them to be governed by a council, and by magiſtrates of their own appointment, and who were to be the diſpenſers of juſtice within their reſpective diſtricts, raiſe taxes, and embody a militia for the ſervice of the crown.

Theſe eſtabliſhments were inſenſibly adopted by his vaſſals in their territories; ſuch as in thoſe of Burgundy, Normandy, Flanders, and other great feifs of the crown; and by thus founding a third eſtate in the legiſlature, he in ſome degree diminiſhed the ſeigniorial juriſdictions, and thereby enabled the lower claſſes of ſociety to defend themſelves from the tyranny of their lords; whoſe exorbitant power he thus gradually weakened, while he inſenſibly ſtrengthened the influence of the ſovereign authority.

CHAPTER

# CHAPTER XXIII.

## THE REIGN OF LEWIS THE SEVENTH, THE YOUNG.

Lewis, upon his acceſſion, chaſtiſes the rebellious Lords—The affairs of Germany, Italy, and England—Lewis takes up arms againſt the Count of Champagne—His inhumanity at Vitri, and remorſe—The Chriſtians of the Eaſt—The ſecond Cruſade—Lewis leads his army thither in perſon—He is defeated by the Infidels—Retires to Antioch—Beſieges Damaſcus, and is obliged to relinquiſh his enterpriſe—He returns to France, and repudiates his Queen, who eſpouſes Henry of Anjou, Duke of Normandy—Lewis ſupports the cauſe of Stephen—Henry ſucceeds to the Engliſh crown—The marriage of Lewis—The King of England extends his dominions in France—Jealouſies and indeciſive wars of the rival Sovereigns—Lewis ſupports the ſons of Henry againſt their father—The ſucceſs of Henry obliges his adverſaries to liſten to terms of peace—The French Monarch, induced by the danger of his ſon, repairs to the tomb of Thomas à Becket—The Prince recovers—His aſſociation in the regal dignity, and marriage—The death and character of Lewis.

THE lamentations that followed the death of a Monarch ſo deſervedly regretted, were ſoon converted into joy upon the return of his ſucceſſor, with Eleanor, his queen, to the capital of their dominions. Lewis, ſurnamed the Young, upon his arrival at Paris, convoked an aſſembly of the nobility and clergy; and contrary to the cuſtom A. D. 1137.

A. D. hitherto obſerved among his predeceſſors, thought it not neceſſary to ſanction his acceſſion by a ſecond coronation; but, conſulting with them upon the ſituation of his affairs, deviſed ſuch meaſures as were deemed the moſt neceſſary to preſerve that tranquillity the kingdom had of late enjoyed; and which the dawn of new factions and intrigues now threatened to diſturb.

Gaucher de Montjeay, who had been the principal inſtigator of the league that had been formed, in the late reign, againſt his Sovereign, Lewis the Groſs, was the firſt to diſpute the authority of his ſon, and to interrupt, by his commotions, the peace of France. Although young and inexperienced, the Gallic Monarch was not inactive: he broke at its commencement the ſpirit of his enterpriſe; chaſtiſed the citizens of Orleans, who, forgetful that to his father they were indebted for their recent priviliges, had oppoſed his levying troops within their demeſnes; and having thus proved that he was not to be inſulted with impunity, reſtored the tranquillity of his dominions; a repoſe that was conſiderably prolonged by the internal troubles that agitated the German and the Engliſh Courts.

The ſucceſſion to the Imperial crown, upon the death of Henry the Fifth, produced a bloody war between the competitors. The ſhort and turbulent reign of Lothario, Duke of Saxe Supplemburgh, who had been elected to that dignity, was followed

followed by the elevation of his rival, Conrad, A. D.
Duke of Franconia. Henry, the haughty Duke of Bavaria, diſputed his title, but died during the period in which it was conteſted; and Guelph, his brother, ſupported by Roger, King of Sicily, carried on the war againſt the Emperor. Hence aroſe the appellations that diſtinguiſhed thoſe ſanguinary factions that had previouſly prevailed, and continued for ſo many years after to deſolate both Germany and Italy: the firſt adopting their name from Hieghibelin, the birth-place of Frederick, Duke of Suabia, the brother of Conrad, and the leader of the Imperial forces; and the latter, from Guelph, the Bavarian prince. England and Normandy were no leſs agitated than Germany, by the civil wars between Stephen and Matilda: the nephew and the daughter of Henry the Firſt, were equally incapacitated to moleſt the tranquillity of France.

Such was the ſituation of the neighbouring 1140—3
kingdoms, when Thibauld, Count of Champagne, drew upon himſelf the reſentment of Lewis, by his protection of Pierre de Chartres, who, without his approbation, had been elected Archbiſhop of Bourges, by Innocent the Second, but who had been driven from that dioceſe by the indignant Monarch. This event, with the oppoſition he had made to the wiſhes of the King, reſpecting a divorce and marriage of the Count of Vermandois, with his ſecret intrigues, and other concomitant cauſes, irritated the youthful prince; and his vengeance was

A. D. proportioned to his rage. He over-ran, with fire and with ſword, the territories of the offending Count; beſieged, took, and pillaged the city of Vitri; and his fury having extinguiſhed his reaſon, he ordered the parochial church, in which thirteen hundred miſerable fugitives had ſought an aſylum, to be deſtroyed by the flames.

Struck, but too late, with the inhumanity of the deed, the mind of Lewis was torn by remorſe; and ſo deeply was he impreſſed by the enormity of which he had been guilty, that he re-eſtabliſhed the Archbiſhop of Bourges in his ſee, became reconciled to the Count of Champagne; and, anxious to appeaſe the reproaches of his conſcience, caught at any conſolation that could help to ſoothe his deſpondency. As an atonement, therefore, for the paſt, he determined to aſſume the croſs; as if, according aſſiſtance to that fanatic rage that depopulated Europe, could compenſate for the deſtruction of the ſpecies in another quarter.

1143—7 In the eaſt, the Chriſtian power was every day declining. The ſucceſsful arms of the firſt cruſaders had, in the courſe of forty years, eſtabliſhed four conſiderable governments. Edeſſa, Tripoli, Antioch, and Jeruſalem, acknowledged, for their ſovereigns, as many Chriſtian princes; but the valiant chiefs were no more; and the ſtates, founded by their arms, were menaced by an approaching diſſolution. Already had the firſt been wreſted from

from the hands of Joſelin de Courtnay, by San- A. D.
quin, the Soldan of Aleppo; and the holy city was threatened with the ſame fate by Nonraddin, his ſon and ſucceſſor.

To oppoſe his formidable preparations, the Oriental Chriſtians ſolicited the interference of the Pope, Eugenius the Third, to procure from the Sovereigns of Europe a new armament to ſupport the Chriſtian cauſe in Paleſtine. Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clerivaux, was deputed by the pontiff to preach the ſacred warfare. His ſucceſs was adequate to the extraordinary influence, his diſintereſted piety and irreproachable morals had procured him over the minds of all orders and conditions of ſociety. Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, of equal merit, and held in equal eſteem by his ſovereign, oppoſed with warmth the zealous ardour of his contemporary; and with more wiſdom, but leſs enthuſiaſm, endeavoured to prevail upon Lewis to perſuade himſelf, that there could not be a more worthy expiation of his guilt than a juſt and careful adminiſtration of his kingdom: but the irreſiſtible eloquence of Bernard, who was deemed a ſaint, a prophet, and an oracle, prevailed over the more ſound and more political reaſonings of his opponent.

An aſſembly of the nobles and clergy was convoked at Vezelai in Burgundy, where the King, with the Saint by his ſide, appeared upon a ſcaffold, erected for the occaſion in the market-place:

A. D. ſo numerous was the meeting, that no church within the town was found to be of a ſize ſufficiently large to contain them. Here, attended by an immenſe concourſe of people, the letter of the ſacred Pontiff was read; the Sovereign, upon his knees, received from the hands of the Abbot, the ſacred ſymbol of his faith, and which had been previouſly ſent from the Apoſtolical chair. The enthuſiaſm became general: the Queen, the Prelates, the Nobles, and all preſent, were anxious to follow the royal example. "The Croſs, the "Croſs," reſounded from all quarters; and ſo great was the ſpiritual ardour, that the computed number of thoſe who voluntarily entered into theſe engagements, exceed the bounds of credibility. Excited by the example of their Queen, the women diſdained the proſecution of domeſtic employments, and determined to ſhare the dangers, and to encourage, by their preſence, the zeal of their huſbands in this diſtant and precarious enterpriſe.

From France this epidemic frenzy ſpread, with inconceivable velocity, over Germany, to which country the importuning miſſionary purſued his courſe. The Emperor, Conrad the Third; his brother, Henry Duke of Suabia; his nephew and ſucceſſor, Frederic Barbaroſſa, received from his hands the holy croſs: his ſucceſs was further increaſed by the ſuperſtition of his followers, who intimated his progreſs to have been accompanied by

by divine diſpenſations: the ſick were cured by his preſence, the lame by his invocations, and the blind by his touch. And, at the enſuing convocation that was held at Eſtampes, at which the Imperial envoys attended,—Conſtantinople was once more appointed as the place of general reſort. A D.

The ſame aſſembly that had, with enthuſiaſtic fervour, thus ſigned the doom of thouſands, about to take a laſt farewell of their parental ſoil, in ſome meaſure alleviated the affliction of thoſe who were left behind, by confiding to the moderate government of the wiſe and conſcientious Abbot of Saint Dennis, the regency of the kingdom; a prelate, the radiation of whoſe virtues illuminated the cloiſter, whoſe talents arreſted the confidence of his ſovereign, and whoſe integrity was rewarded by the affectionate attachment and gratitude of his ſubjects. In this delicate and important truſt was aſſociated Rodolph, Count of Vermandois, but with an authority inferior to that of the penetrating Suger, who, to the very laſt, inflexibly oppoſed the impolitic warfare, and arraigned with ſtrong, but unheeded eloquence, the intended departure of the King.

Having received, in the cathedral church of Saint Dennis, and from the hands of Eugenius the Third, who had purpoſely undertaken a journey to France, to preſide in perſon at this ſolemnity, the ſcrip, and ſtaff, together with the Apoſtolic benediction, and from the Abbot, the ſacred ſtandard,—

A. D. dard,—Lewis proceeded upon his diſtant and adventurous enterpriſe. At the head of a prodigious force, computed at two hundred thouſand men, he was received with every outward mark of attention and deference by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, the grandſon of Alexis.

1148. Upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of Nice, he found the Emperor Conrad, who had preceded his departure, with the miſerable remains of the German army that had fallen a ſacrifice to the ſword of the Turks, the treachery of their Greek guides, and more particularly the victims of their own undiſciplined conduct and licentious intemperance. While this Prince returned to Conſtantinople, the Gallic Monarch proceeding on his march, and having defeated the enemy on the banks of the Meander, was himſelf drawn into the ſame ambuſcade, as had previouſly been his Imperial ally. Surpriſed among the rocks near Laodicea, the whole of the Chriſtian army would have been deſtroyed by the ſword of the Infidels, had not the approach of night preſerved them from the otherwiſe inevitable deſtruction. The King, ſeveral times in imminent danger, with difficulty reached the van-guard of his army; and after a painful march of many days embarked for Antioch, leaving behind a conſiderable part of his infantry, who were not fortunate enough to rejoin him, having been either cut off by the reſentment

of

of the enemy, or periſhed in their way by the irreſiſtible aſſaults of laſſitude and hunger. A. D.

Raymond, the ſovereign of Antioch, and the paternal uncle of the Queen, received his royal gueſt with the moſt flattering marks of hoſpitality and kindneſs; but Lewis had the mortification to find that his diſtinguiſhed reception proceeded from intereſted and criminal views. The Prince, notwithſtanding his affinity of blood, was the favoured paramour of the licentious Eleanor, whoſe gallantries had been already ſcrutinized and condemned by the public opinion. Suſpicious of the intentions of the ſucceſsful gallant, the Gallic Monarch, having been reinforced by ſome Italian auxiliaries, departed on a ſudden from the city; and regaining his army, encamped in the vicinity of Antioch, proceeded to the capital of Judea, then governed by Baldwin the Third, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Foulk, Count of Anjou.

Here Lewis again met with the Emperor Conrad; and it was at length determined, that the united arms of the Chriſtian Princes, in that part of the world, ſhould be directed to the ſiege of Damaſcus; an important ſituation to acquire, as it had hitherto been a curb upon the ſovereigns of Jeruſalem and of Antioch; nor could their forces have failed of ſucceſs, had not their jealouſy interfered with their intereſts, and occaſioned a diſunion where the moſt intimate concord was neceſſary for the ſucceſs of the undertaking. The Barons of Syria,

A. D. Syria, ſuſpecting that the Count of Flanders would be inveſted with the ſovereignty of the city, ſhould it be captured, ſecretly endeavoured to render abortive the meaſures that were purſued; perfidiouſly ſuffering convoys of proviſions to be interrupted: and entering into ſecret intrigues with the Infidels, they brought the army into ſo much diſtreſs, that the Emperor and the Gallic King deſpairing of ſucceſs, and indignant at the treachery of their allies, withdrew their powers, embarked their forces, and returned to Europe with the melancholy wreck of two of the fineſt armies that had been ever raiſed in their reſpective dominions.

1149—54 Thus unfortunately terminated this famous expedition, which had promiſed to the heated imagination of the enthuſiaſt no other ſequence but conqueſt and glory. While thouſands of ruined families exclaimed againſt the deluſive prophecies of Saint Bernard, all France had reaſon to be laviſh of their benedictions, and to teſtify their gratitude for the wiſe and equitable government of the venerable Suger; and Lewis had the ſatisfaction, upon his return from his fruitleſs expedition, to find his dominions in a profound and perfect tranquillity. As a reward to merit, ſo highly worthy of diſtinction, the pacific Abbot was honoured with the flattering appellation of "the "father of his country." This panegyric, the moſt honourable that can be conferred, by a diſcerning nation,

nation, upon the virtues of a ſubject,—the object of their praiſe was not long deſtined to enjoy. Having ſo well ſerved his country when alive, his remains were followed to the grave by a deep and general lamentation, and his name has been engraven upon the records of poſterity. A. D.

The diſguſt that the Gallic Monarch had conceived againſt his queen, now no longer reſtrained by the political councils of Suger, encouraged him to diſſolve a connexion, againſt which he had been long and ſecretly determined. Oppoſite in their diſpoſitions, the gravity and mildneſs of Lewis but ill accorded with the gaiety and unbounded love of pleaſure which marked the conduct of Eleanor. Regardleſs of her rank, as careleſs of her character, ſhe ſcrupled not to complain of a companion more fitted, as ſhe remarked, for a cloiſter than a throne. Both parties were equally anxious that a ſeparation ſhould take place; the terms were ſoon adjuſted; the uſual plea of conſanguinity was alledged; the divorce followed; and Guienne, a valuable acquiſition to the crown of France, which was obtained with her, Lewis diſdained to withhold, and honourably, however impolitically, reſtored.

The ſhort interval of ſix weeks was ſcarcely elapſed, when the union of Eleanor with Henry the young Duke of Normandy, excited a ſuſpicion that ſo ſpeedy an alliance had been preconcerted. This illuſtrious prince poſſeſſed, in right of his father,

A. D. father, Geoffrey Plantagenet, the territories of Anjou and Touraine; in that of Matilda his mother, Normandy and Maine; by his late eſpouſals, Guienne, Poitou, Xaintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limoſin; and, ſhortly afterwards, he annexed to theſe extenſive poſſeſſions, the duchy of Brittany, comprehending, in the whole, a third of the moſt opulent and fertile provinces of the French monarchy.

Lewis, alarmed at the acceſſion of power which his youthful rival had attained,—to counteract its effects, entered into a league with the King of England, Euſtace his ſon, and Geoffrey, the brother of Henry. This alliance, formidable as it may appear, was unavailing; the ſuperior abilities of the Duke of Normandy rendered abortive all their plans; and his addreſs was ſo well timed, that he induced the Gallic Monarch to conſent to a truce, of which he availed himſelf by repairing to England, whither the like ſucceſs attended his policy and his arms: and, upon the death of Euſtace, a negociation took place with Stephen, wherein the ſucceſſion to the Engliſh crown was ſecured to him. This recent treaty was a mortifying blow to the intereſts of Lewis; who, upon the expiration of the truce, commenced the campaign by the capture of Vernon; and ſuch was the ſituation of affairs, when the death of Stephen left open to Henry a paſſage to the crown of England.

Unanimouſly

Unanimouſly received as the ſucceſſor of the late King, it was in vain that Lewis attempted to retard the riſing grandeur of the Houſe of Plantagenet: receiving therefore the tender of peace that was offered by Henry, Neufmârche and Vernon were reſtored; and the Engliſh Monarch renewed his homage for the extenſive territories he poſſeſſed in France. A. D. 1154—61

Not having any ſons by his marriage with Eleanor of Guienne; the wiſhes of his ſubjects induced Lewis to take to his bed and throne, Conſtance, daughter of Alonzo the Eighth, King of Leon and Caſtille; and ſoon after he repaired, in a fit of devotion, to viſit the ſhrine of Saint James at Compoſtella. Upon his return he aſſiſted at a council convened at Soiſſons, aſſembled to reſtrain the violence and inveteracy of private war, in which the King and the principal nobles preſent, ſolemnly pledged themſelves to maintain an inviolable truce for ten years; an arrangement that had been frequently deviſed for the reſtoration of order, but which had been hitherto without effect!

While the French King was thus employed, his too powerful neighbour, the active Henry, was gradually extending his authority in France. Geoffrey, the brother of the Engliſh Monarch, had been choſen, by the people of Nantz, to ſucceed their late Count. Upon his death, the King of England laid claim to the city; and Conon,

Duke

A. D. Duke of Brittany, who oppoſed his pretenſions, found himſelf obliged to give his only daughter, with a promiſe of her ſucceſſion to his dominions, unto Geoffrey, the third ſon of his opponent. The Count of Blois was likewiſe conſtrained to deliver up Amboiſe, with other places in the vicinity, to the demands of this aſpiring prince; and Thierri, Count of Flanders, in departing for the Holy Land, entruſted to his care the guardianſhip of Philip, his infant ſon, with the adminiſtration of his extenſive territories,

Thus ſurrounded on all ſides by the Engliſh Monarch, Lewis daily grew more impatient of his influence, and anxious to impede the progreſſion of his power; but the artful and politic Henry, upon all occaſions, treated him with ſo many pointed marks of perſonal reſpect, that he found the means to ſoothe the jealouſy of his apprehenſions, and to prevail upon him to conclude a matrimonial alliance between his eldeſt ſon, and Margaret, the princeſs of France, only then an infant in her cradle.

Notwithſtanding theſe appearances of cordiality, a rupture ſoon enſued between theſe Monarchs, upon the claim of Henry to the county of Thouloufe, in right of his Queen, whoſe mother, Philippa, Ducheſs of Guienne, had been the only iſſue of William the Fourth, the laſt Count, but who, having preferred a male heir, had deviſed his poſſeſſions to Raymond of Saint Gilles, his brother.

brother. Upon the revival of the pretenſions of A. D.
Eleanor, the grandſon of Raymond, who bore the ſame name with his progenitor, was then the reigning ſovereign. Lewis had, before his divorce, demanded the conteſted province; but his opinions having changed with his intereſt, he ſupported the cauſe of his vaſſal, upon whom he had beſtowed Conſtance, his ſiſter, the widow of Euſtace, Count of Bologne.

This war, in which the King of England was ſupported by the Counts of Barcelona and Niſmes, was not productive of any ſignal event: a few inſignificant ſkirmiſhes upon the frontiers was ſucceeded by a ſhort ceſſation of arms; at the expiration of which, hoſtilities re-commenced, on account of the poſſeſſion of the town of Gizors, which had been treacherouſly delivered to Henry by the Knights Templars, to whom it had been entruſted by Lewis, as a part of the dowry of Margaret, until the concerted nuptials ſhould be finally completed.

The ſovereign Pontiff, Alexander the Third, being then in France, had the merit of bringing to an accommodation their diſputes. A fugitive from his capital, from whence he had been driven by the party of the Anti-pope, Victor the Fourth, he had the ſatisfaction to be received by the French and the Engliſh Monarchs with diſtinguiſhed marks of public honour, and with perſonal proofs of complacency and regard. Not ſatisfied with the ſup-

A. D. port of his cauſe againſt the Emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, in an interview, near Torci, upon the banks of the river Loire, they condeſcended to ſoothe his pride, and to flatter his dignity, by conducting him on foot, each Monarch with his head uncovered, and holding his bridle, to a magnificent tent that had been prepared for his reception. His party having prevailed over the Imperial faction, he had the triumph, a few years after, to ſee his intrepid and proud competitor obliged to acknowledge his ſuperiority, and to implore, at his feet, both abſolution and peace.

1161—69 The recent compromiſe between France and England was again diſturbed by an event that engaged the general attention of both kingdoms, and which particularly occaſioned the Engliſh Monarch many years of diſquiet and alarm.

Thomas à Becket, the Chancellor, and the perſonal favourite of Henry, had been raiſed, by the partiality of that Prince, to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, in the hope that the concurrence of one upon whom he had ſo profuſely laviſhed his confidence and affection, would promote the reformations he had projected, and which tended to retrench the clerical uſurpations: but never was the penetration of this Prince more unexpectedly deceived, than in the character of this haughty prelate. No ſooner was this intereſted churchman inſtalled in his new dignity, than he returned, into the hands of his Sovereign, the ſeals, and his commiſſion

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miſſion of Chancellor; and, aware of the intentions of the Monarch, reſpecting eccleſiaſtical encroachments, ungratefully, and openly, commenced the moſt violent oppoſition to his will. A. D.

Upon his diſgrace and baniſhment, which enſued, he retired to the city of Soiſſons, whither he was invited by the French Monarch, who, forgetting the common cauſe of ſovereigns, in the jealouſy which he entertained of a rival, afforded him a moſt ample and honourable protection, aſſigning him a liberal penſion, and a diſtinguiſhed reſidence in the abbey of Pontigny.

A reception ſo flattering to the haughty prelate, as may be naturally ſuppoſed, exaſperated the Engliſh Monarch; and hoſtilities commenced. Some places, of little importance, were on both ſides taken; and a fruitleſs war, after a protracted negociation, was concluded, by the peace of Montmariel. The King of England renewed his homage for Normandy; Henry, his eldeſt ſon, for Anjou, Maine, and Brittany; Richard, his ſecond ſon, for Guienne, his promiſed inheritance; and the heir of the Engliſh crown was likewiſe re-inſtated in his hereditary office of Grand Seneſchal of the Gallic kingdom.

This peace was followed by an accommodation with Becket, who, animated to revenge by an exile of ſix years, knew not how to ſet any bounds to his arrogance. The haſty expreſſions of Henry, then reſident in Normandy, upon a report of the

A. D. violence of his proceedings, were exaggerated by the zeal of four gentlemen of the King's houſhold into a call for vengeance; and who, repairing with celerity to Canterbury, aſſaſſinated the Archbiſhop in the church of Saint Benedict, while he was engaged in the performance of his ſacred duties, at the foot of the altar.

The general odium that was excited againſt Henry, by the murder of this imperious and inflexible prelate, he found the means to ſoften, by his conciliatory embaſſies, and humble conceſſions to the Court of Rome, and by the abject penance performed at the ſhrine of that immolated and imputed martyr. The confuſion that was occaſioned by the daring contention of one man, during the protracted ſpace of ſeven years, and in the reign of a Prince who was ſo formidable from his power, and diſtinguiſhed by his abilities, and who, upon other occaſions, had proved himſelf ſo firm and conſiſtent, is a corroborating inſtance how much ſuperſtition can debaſe the moſt ſtrong and enlightened underſtanding; and, at the ſame time, ſhews the dread which was, at that period, entertained of the overwhelming influence of the ſpiritual authority of the Popes, while their temporal power was ſo much confined, and even their perſonal ſecurity ſo imperfect. While we record the fact, we ſhudder at the infatuation that could attach infallibility to an individual like ourſelves, and ſet up a pageant upon the throne of grace, to

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iſſue from thence his irreſiſtible mandates, as A. D.
though he were a being ſuperior to the impreſ-
ſions, and not ſubject to the lot of mortality.

Lewis, who had not been by any means back- 1173.
ward in aggravating the mental diſtreſſes of his rival, took advantage of the youthful ambition of Henry, the heir to the Engliſh crown, who, with Margaret, his conſort, had lately been upon a viſit to her father, at Paris, to perſuade him that he was entitled to enjoy a ſhare of the power which his father held: his brothers, Geoffrey and Richard, were likewiſe induced, by the inſinuations of Eleanor, who, diſſatisfied with the coldneſs of Henry towards her, adviſed them to take up arms againſt him; and, ſtrangely inconſiſtent! meditated an eſcape herſelf to that very Court from which, at an earlier period of her life, her licentiouſneſs had driven her: nor were ſeveral Princes aſhamed to take a part in this unnatural confederacy. The French Monarch; William, King of Scotland; Philip, Count of Flanders; the Bretons, and the Gaſcons, with many Engliſh and Norman Barons, openly avowed their intentions to aſſiſt in this unjuſtifiable warfare.

Hoſtilities were commenced, by the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne, on the frontiers of Normandy. Aumale was firſt doomed to feel the the ſhock of their arms, and to crown the commencement of their enterpriſe; and, as a condition of liberty, its ſovereign was conſtrained to deliver

A. D. into their hands all the other fortreſſes that were dependent upon his authority. In conſequence of a mortal wound received by the Count of Boulogne, a ſtop was put to the progreſs of the Flemiſh arms. The French King, with young Henry, laid ſiege to Verneüil, which for the ſpace of a month reſiſted their aſſaults, and, ſtraitened by the want of proviſions, promiſed to ſurrender, on condition that within three days no ſuccour could be obtained; on the laſt of which the Engliſh Monarch appeared on the heights that command the city: but Lewis, unwilling to hazard a general engagement, demanded a conference at the camp of his rival. In the mean time he compelled the citizens to ſurrender the town, and, contrary to the terms of capitulation, gave it up to fire and pillage. Retiring with precipitation from the ſcene of his treachery, he left Henry at liberty to turn his arms againſt the diſaffected Bretons.

Having happily ſucceeded in that province, the King of England conſented to a conference between Gizors and Trie, in which interview he had the mortification to ſee his three ſons in the retinue of his mortal enemy. The offers of the Engliſh Monarch were ſufficiently advantageous, had the confederates been ſincerely deſirous of peace; but the violence of the Earl of Leiceſter, and the perſonal invectives with which he inſulted his ſovereign, abruptly broke off the negociation; and the

the next day a rencounter took place, in which much blood was idly ſpilt on both ſides. A. D.

The defeat and the capture of Leiceſter, who had landed with an army of Flemings, upon the coaſt of Suffolk; the captivity of William, King of Scotland; the ſucceſs againſt the Angevins, with the ignominious retreat of Lewis from Rouen; depreſſed the hopes, and humbled the ſpirits of the ſons of Henry, and proved at length deciſive in his favour. Another interview took place in the vicinity of Tours; and the Engliſh Monarch, now victorious, granted terms much leſs advantageous than thoſe to which he had before conſented to agree. Lewis reſtored to the King of England all ſuch places as had been captured by the Gallic arms; the rebel ſons ſubmitted to his authority; and a peace enſued, which continued unbroken to the end of the life of the French Sovereign. 1174—5

Some years after, the two Monarchs had a meeting upon the frontiers of their reſpective dominions, and there propoſed to hazard their perſons and troops in another cruſade to the Holy Land; whereas Lewis, from age and infirmities, ſhould rather have looked forward to that hour in which he was to make his peace with God, than riſk the danger of calling down his preſent vengeance by the deſtruction of his ſpecies. Whatever may have been his intentions, this ſpiritual agreement proved abortive. His conſtitution grew daily more and more weak, his mind more timid, and 1177.

A.D. his ſuperſtition more confirmed; and which was further increaſed by the danger of Philip, his eldeſt ſon, a youth of fourteen years of age, who had been bewildered in the foreſt of Compiegne, purſuing the pleaſures of the chace, and left there during the night, entirely alone. The fright occaſioned by this circumſtance, brought on a ſudden and rapid diſorder; and his precarious ſituation induced the afflicted and the credulous Monarch to repair to the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket, and ſolicit the interference of that popular ſaint, not without hopes of obtaining ſuccour from his gratitude, for the friendſhip he had ſhewn, and the protection he had given to that martyr while living, at whoſe tomb the weakneſs of the age had attributed the power of working miracles. Kindly received, and magnificently treated, by Henry, and having made his offerings, he returned to his capital, where he had the ſatisfaction to find his ſon recovered, and, as he imagined, reſtored by his prayers and oblations: from this time he determined to aſſociate the young prince in the regal dignity.

1179. A paralytic ſtroke with which he had been ſeized expedited the intended ceremony; and Philip received, with extraordinary ſplendour, the royal unction, from the hands of his uncle, William of Champagne, Archbiſhop of Rheims, to which dioceſe was confirmed the excluſive privilege of anointing,

anointing, and inveſting with the crown, the kings of France. A. D.

From this occaſion, as from this period, it is ſuppoſed that the peerage derived its commencement. Young Henry of England aſſiſted at the coronation, and ſupported the crown, a function appertaining to the duchy of Normandy; and the Count of Flanders, from the nature of his office, carried the ſword of ſtate.

This ſplendid event was ſucceeded by another of public joy and feſtivity—the celebration of the nuptials of the young King with Iſabel, the daughter of Baldwin, Count of Hainault, and niece of Philip, Count of Flanders, deſcended, in a direct line, from Ermenegarde, daughter of the unfortunate Charles of Lorraine; and thus was united in in their deſcendant the blood of the rival Princes of the Carlovingian and Capetian races.

The ſtrength, as likewiſe the underſtanding of Lewis being unequal to the cares of government, the new Sovereign, at the early age of fifteen years, took upon himſelf the adminiſtration of the kingdom. Three ſevere edicts, immediately iſſued, at once marked the ſanguinary diſpoſition of Philip: the firſt condemned heretics to the flames; the ſecond doomed blaſphemers to be drowned; and the third drove jugglers and buffoons into baniſhment.

In the enſuing year Lewis expired at Paris, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, and in the forty- 1180.

fourth

A. D. fourth year of his reign. By Eleanor, his firſt queen, whom he repudiated, he had two daughters, Mary and Alice: Conſtance, of Caſtile, left him Margaret, afterwards the wife of young Henry of England; and another, named likewiſe Alice. By his laſt conſort, Adelaide of Champagne, he had his ſucceſſor, Philip, Adelaide, or, as ſhe is by others called, Alice, allianced to Richard, the ſon of the Engliſh Monarch, but who, after a long reſidence in the court of Henry, by whom ſhe was ſuppoſed to have been ſeduced, again returned to her native country, and was united to William, Count of Ponthieu. The youngeſt daughter of the Gallic King was Agnes, eſpouſed to Alexis Comnenus, Emperor of Conſtantinople, and afterwards to his murderer and ſucceſſor, Andronicus the Firſt.

Lewis was more remarkable for the goodneſs of his heart than for the vigour of his underſtanding. Enterprizing, but without conduct and conſiſtency to accompliſh his undertakings, he was intrepid in his perſonal conflicts during his expeditions into Aſia; and firm in ſupporting the dignity of his crown, when reſident at the court of Conſtantinople.

His divorce from Eleanor, impolitic as it may have been, appears to have been dictated by a ſenſe of delicacy; and the reſtoration of her dower, ſo much cenſured, was juſt and honourable, and attaches to the mind a favourable memorial of his equity. However diſpoſed hiſtorians may be to

extol

extol the benevolence of his diſpoſion, yet are A. D.
there inſtances to be found in his life and reign, of a cruel and a ſanguinary conduct, which we are unwilling to allow was natural to his general character. His ſupport of the rebellious ſons of Henry cannot be juſtified by the cuſtomary palliation of ſtate-neceſſity, which conſiders as policy the advancement of intereſt, however it may militate againſt the ſuggeſtions of humanity and juſtice. Should it be denied that he inſtigated the unnatural conflict; yet his protection and aſſiſtance may ſafely lead us to conclude that the charge, upon this head, made againſt him by the Engliſh writers, is not entirely without foundation.

He was a Prince, all circumſtances conſidered, who may be deemed more amiable, than deſerving any particular ſtigma. More loved than eſtemed, his name will be aſſociated rather with thoſe that are remembered for the misfortunes, than applauded for the ſplendour of their actions.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### THE REIGN OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

Philip the Second commences his reign with ſucceſs againſt his diſaffected ſubjects—The Regent retires from Court—Edict againſt the Jews—Internal regulations—Deſtruction of the mercenaries—War with Flanders, and with England—Affairs of

A. D. of the Eaſt—The Engliſh and French Monarchs prepare for a third Cruſade—Richard invades the territories of the Count of Thouloufe—He is ſupported by Philip againſt his father—The death of Henry—Philip and Richard depart for Paleſtine—Winter in Sicily—Animoſities there—They arrive at Aire—Which city capitulates—Philip returns to France—His intrigues with John—The victories of Richard—He returns to Europe—Is arreſted by the Duke of Auſtria—Philip commences hoſtilities—Richard delivered from his captivity, and proceeds with animoſity againſt Philip—Perfidy of John—The war continues with various ſucceſs, and ſhort intervals of peace—The death of Richard—Philip's marriage and divorce—His diſputes with Rome—His war with John, King of England—A temporary peace—The Duke of Brittany put to death by John—Philip makes himſelf maſter of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and a part of Poitou—The fourth Cruſade—A truce with England—John embroiled with Rome—The pontificate of Innocent the Third—His cruſade againſt the Albigenſes—John excommunicated, and depoſed. His kingdom offered by the Pope to Philip—Who prepares to avail himſelf of it—John gives up his dominions to the Pope—Philip marches againſt the Count of Flanders—His fleet deſtroyed—The battle of Bouvins—Truce with England—Lewis goes againſt the Albigenſes—A revolt in England—The Barons offer Lewis the crown—He repairs to that kingdom—His ſucceſs, and the death of John—Lewis compelled to abandon his conqueſts—Returns to France—Takes Rochelle—A truce—Lewis goes againſt the Albigenſes—Death and character of Philip.

1180—6 THE departed King had flattered himſelf with having made ſo prudent an arrangement of his dominions, that tranquillity would inevitably mark the ſucceeding government of his ſon; but ſo ſhort-ſighted is human wiſdom, that he no ſooner mounted

mounted the throne, than he found himſelf involved in the jealouſy, and the care, ſo invariably the attendants of royalty. The influence which the Count of Flanders, as regent of the realm, and governor to Philip, had obtained over the mind of his pupil, gave offence to the ambitious Princes of Champagne, uncles to the young Monarch; and the queen mother, anxious to have ſome participation in the regal authority, entered readily into their intrigues to undermine the power, and to drive from the ſmiles and the preſence of the ſovereign, a nobleman whom they conſidered as a ſtranger, and as an intruder in his court. A. D.

The Count of Sancerre, the moſt youthful of the brothers, was the firſt who ventured to raiſe the ſtandard of rebellion againſt his lawful Prince; but Philip, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt ſome diſaffected Lords, in the ſhort adminiſtration that preceded his father's death, repaired without loſs of time to Berry; overturned to its foundations, Chatillon, a fortreſs of conſiderable ſtrength; devaſted the territories of the rebellious Count; and thus, by the celerity of his progreſs, gave a check to the menaced commotions. But ſhort was the tranquillity that enſued: the precipitate retreat of Adelaide, the queen mother, to the court of Normandy, again threw the kingdom into confuſion. The King of England eſpouſed her cauſe; and prepared to ſecond her wiſhes, by the march of a powerful army. Aware of the impreſſion

A. D. preſſion that might be made by a ſuſpicion of his inexperience, the Gallic Monarch rapidly advanced with his forces to the frontiers of that province; and being joined by the Count of Flanders, the armies came in ſight; when an immediate action was expected to enſue—but the Cardinal of Saint Chriſogonus, the Pope's legate, prevailed upon the oppoſing Sovereigns to liſten to his mediation, and to conſent to a conference.

Between Trie and Gizors the interview took place, when Philip convinced his experienced adverſary, that with the ardour of youth he had united the prudence of maturer years. It was in vain that the artful and politic Henry alternately employed careſſes and menaces: he was not to be ſeduced by the former; and he replied, with a manly tone of reſolution to the latter: "That he "was reſponſible to no earthly power for his con- "duct; and that he was determined to perſiſt in "his intention to cruſh, at its commencement, the "ſeeds of rebellion, and reſtore peace and regula- "rity to his government."

This early independency of ſpirit induced the Engliſh Monarch to relax in his demands in favour of the cauſe he had ſo recently eſpouſed: the Queen was invited to return, under the promiſe of an eſtabliſhment, every way equal to her rank and pretenſions; and the ancient treaties between the rival crowns were diſcuſſed, amended, and confirmed.

The

The appearance again of Adelaide at the court A. D.
of her ſon, was a prelude to the diſmiſſion of the Count of Flanders. The exaggerated charges of cruelty and ambition, ſo artfully alledged againſt him, and ſo inſidiouſly infuſed into the mind of his pupil, at length prevailed over his former regard and confidence; and the Regent, eaſily perceiving the alteration of ſentiment, from a change of conduct in the Prince, with a moderation not leſs amiable than uncommon, withdrew from the injuſtice and the ingratitude of the Court, to receive, in his own dominions, the conſolatory, as well-earned applauſes of the heart.

The adminiſtration of the kingdom, and the education of the Sovereign, were ſucceſſively confided to Robert-Clement, of Metz, and to his brother, Gilbert: the death of both theſe miniſters immediately after their elevation, opened to the Cardinal of Champagne, uncle to the King, the path to that envied as exalted ſituation; the firſt act of whoſe adminiſtration was a baniſhment of the Jews, a nation as remarkable for their perſecution, as famous for their extortion. The protection of many of the moſt powerful among the nobility proved but a feeble barrier againſt the reſentment of the King, who was rigidly bent upon their expulſion. They were ejected from their poſſeſſions—their goods confiſcated—the obligations they had obtained from the ſubjects of France were cancelled, the indebted paying a fifth part of the

A. D. the demand that ſhould have been received by them, to ſwell the private wealth of the ſovereign; and their ſynagogues were converted into places of Chriſtian worſhip. Thoſe who preferred the retention of their property by a renunciation of their religion, were baptized; but the moſt conſiderable proportion ſought a refuge in other countries, more favourable to their purſuits, and more friendly to their reſidence.

To this act of ſignal oppreſſion ſucceeded an interval of tranquillity, which Philip employed in a manner more honourable to himſelf, and beneficial to his country, by giving attention and effect to objects of private convenience and public utility. He ordered Paris, and the towns dependent upon his authority, to be paved; and, that they might be rendered more ſecure, he directed that they ſhould be ſurrounded by walls and fortifications; a meaſure little approved of by the inhabitants, whoſe means could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed adequate to the burden; but which he took care to inſpect in perſon, to be a witneſs of their expeditious completion. It was this Prince who encloſed the wood of Vincennes, that he might the more conveniently enjoy the pleaſures of the chace. He put a ſtop to devaſtations, and cut off ſeveral thouſands of thoſe mercenary ſoldiers who had been employed by the late King, and the Engliſh Monarch, in their wars, diſtinguiſhed by the various names of Cotteraux, Brabançons, Routiers, and Taverdins,

Taverdins, who, having been diſbanded, and without the means of ſubſiſtence, diſperſed themſelves, principally in Berry, in which province they committed the moſt wanton and enormous outrages. A. D.

While theſe various occupations engaged the active mind of Philip, his attention was arreſted by the death of Elizabeth, Counteſs of Flanders, a deſcendant of Hugh the Great, who dying without iſſue, the Gallic Monarch ſummoned the Count her huſband to ſurrender the territories of Vermandois, Valois, and Amiens, the inheritance of that Princeſs, and which he now claimed as a right veſted in him, by virtue of the common rules of ſucceſſion. The Count attempted to prove that the poſſeſſion of the conteſted demeſnes had been confirmed to him, not only by the bounty of the late Sovereign, but by the friendſhip and eſteem of the King himſelf; a fact which he did not attempt to deny, but a title which he endeavoured, with great ſubtilty, to diſpute. Whether he retained a reſpect for one who had rivetted his affection when young, and who had likewiſe been his ſponſor at the baptiſmal font, in thoſe days conſidered as a ſacred obligation; he propoſed to ſubmit the termination of the conteſt to arbitration; but to this meaſure his haughty opponent refuſed to comply; and levying a powerful army to ſupport his pretenſions, commenced hoſtilities, and provoked his adverſary to a deciſion of arms.

A. D. Repulſed in his attack upon Corbie and Senlis, he ſurpriſed Dammartin; but, upon the approach of Philip, declined a general engagement; and, retiring before his forces, regained in ſafety his own dominions. While the French Monarch was employed in the ſiege of Boves, a caſtle of conſiderable importance in the vicinity of Amiens, the Count appeared in ſight, and defied the King to a juſtification of his claims upon the field of battle. With difficulty was the youthful ardour of Philip reſtrained by the temperate remonſtrances of the Princes of Champagne, from an immediate engagement, notwithſtanding the approach of night; but it was not the ſerious intention of his opponent to have recourſe to this precarious extremity. So ſoon as he was aſcertained of the intentions of Philip, conſcious of his own inadequate reſources, he requeſted the mediation of the Cardinal of Champagne, and of his brother, the Count of Blois, to procure an accommodation with his Sovereign. The conteſted territories, with the county of Sancerre, was the price by which he purchaſed a tranquil enjoyment of his remaining poſſeſſions: and thoſe rich diſtricts, ſo recently diſputed, were now annexed, to ſwell the influence of Philip, and to extend the dominions of the Crown of France.

1186. Upon the death of young Henry, the ſon of the Engliſh Monarch, Philip had reclaimed Gizors, and the Vexin, the dowry that had been ceded to that Prince, in conſequence of his union with Margaret,

Margaret, the daughter of Lewis: to prevent this A. D.
reſtitution, the King of England conſented to do homage for his poſſeſſions in that country; for which he was allowed to retain the conteſted territories, as the portion of her ſiſter, Alice, provided her eſpouſals with Richard, his ſecond ſon, ſhould immediately take place. The procraſtination of this union reflected ſcandal upon the amorous inclinations of her intended father, and rouſed the indignation of the Gallic King, who commenced hoſtilities with the capture of Iſſoudun and Creſſae, in the province of Berry, and laid ſiege to Chateauroux; near which place the two armies were on the point of engaging, when the conflict was happily ſuſpended by the ſpiritual mediation of the Legates from the Court of Rome, who prevailed upon them to forego their perſonal conteſts, and unite themſelves in avenging the cauſe of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt.

After the departure of Lewis the Seventh from the Holy Land, the affairs of the Cruſaders had continued very rapidly to decline. The throne of Jeruſalem had been ſucceſſively filled by Baldwin the Third, by Aimery his brother, by Baldwin the Fourth, his nephew, and Guy of Luſignan. Saladin, a Curd by birth, the hero of the Eaſt, and diſtinguiſhed for his generoſity and courage, had, by his abilities, ſeated himſelf upon the throne of Egypt. Ambitious of extending his conqueſts, he ſoon perceived that the ſettlements of the Chriſtians in Pa-

A. D. leſtine would prove an invincible obſtacle to the extenſion of his arms: he therefore bent the whole force of his policy and courage to diveſt them of their acquirements; and profiting by the diſſentions of the champions of the Croſs, obtained over their united forces a deciſive victory at Tiberiades; ſoon made himſelf maſter of the Holy City; of Acre, Joppa, and Aſcalon; and, excepting Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre, with a few inconſiderable maritime towns, of all the boaſted conqueſts that had drained the weſtern world of its people, and its treaſures.

1187. The news of the rapid conqueſts of Saladin, ſpread an univerſal conſternation over Europe: the diſmal tidings ſo ſenſibly affected the mind of Urban the Third, that it is pretended he died of grief. The Kings of England and France, the Emperor Frederic the Firſt, and an immenſe number of the Nobles of the three kingdoms, were arouſed to attempt, by a third cruſade, to re-eſtabliſh the glory of the Chriſtian arms.

Intent upon his ſpiritual enterpriſe, Philip convened an aſſembly at Paris, at which it was determined, among many other regulations, that all eccleſiaſtics, as well as laics, who did not aſſume the Croſs, ſhould contribute a tenth of their revenues and effects, which, from the purport of its collection, was denominated the Tax of Saladin, towards the redemption of the Holy Land. Although the clergy, ever attentive to their temporal affairs,

affairs, were, in this inſtance, the promoters of the undertaking, they bitterly inveighed againſt this innovation upon the rights of the Church: but Philip, in ſpite of the violence of their oppoſition, found the means to reduce them to ſilence and obedience. A. D.

While the moſt active preparations were making by the Crowns of France and England, they were ſuſpended by Richard, Duke of Guienne, who made a furious irruption into the territories of Raymond, Count of Thouloufe. The Gallic Monarch took up arms in his defence; ravaged Berry, and Aubergne; reduced ſeveral ſtrong places in thoſe provinces; while Henry, alarmed at his ſucceſs, ſpeedily paſſed into Normandy to oppoſe the progreſs of his arms: but the reluctance of the vaſſals of both Sovereigns to proſecute the war, induced them to conſent to a conference, wherein the King of England was ſoon convinced that the ſuſpicions he had entertained of the good intelligence that ſubſiſted between Philip and Richard, were not without foundation. Notwithſtanding the latter had been the inſtigator of the war, the former inſiſted that the young Prince ſhould be aſſociated with his father in the regal dignity, ſhould be inveſted with his tranſmarine dominions; and that the celebration of his nuptials with Alice, ſhould immediately take place.

Upon the rejection of theſe terms, the indignant Richard openly avowed his revolt, and demanded,

A. D. as from his ſuperior Lord, the protection and ſupport of the Gallic Monarch. Having performed the duties of homage, he received from that Sovereign the inveſtiture of all the continental dominions of Henry. To oppoſe the effects of this alliance, the King of England had recourſe to the ſpiritual interference of the Papal power. Anagni, the Pope's Legate, threatened to fulminate the thunders of the Vatican againſt the allied Princes, ſhould they, contumaciouſly, perſiſt in the proſecution of their demands; but Philip ſet at defiance the menaced interdict, and haughtily replied to the Holy Father: "That he had not any right to in-"terfere in his temporal diſputes; and that he as "well knew how to revenge his perſonal injuries, "as preſerve the independency of his crown." The Duke of Guienne, more violent, was with difficulty prevented from ſacrificing to his rage the mediating Prelate; and, withdrawing themſelves from the ſcene of conference, re-commenced the war with more animoſity than ever.

1189. The loſs of Ferté-Bernard, Amboiſe, Chaumont, and Chateau-Loire, with the capture of Mans, from whence the Engliſh Monarch, with danger, eſcaped; the precarious ſituation of Tours, and the univerſal diſaffection of his nobles and dependants, which ſeemed to threaten his total ruin; reduced him to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to an ignominious peace. Accuſtomed, as he had been, to dictate terms of pacification, his mortification

was

was extreme; but how ſhort of his ſufferings! A. D.
when, upon an anxious deſire to peruſe the liſt of thoſe to whom he was to grant an indemnity for their adherence to Richard, he perceived the name of John, his youngeſt, and his favourite ſon. Overwhelmed with deſpair, he execrated the day on which he was born; beſtowed upon his unnatural and ungrateful children a malediction, which no entreaty could prevail upon him to withdraw; and, worn out by care and affliction, ſoon after expired, at the caſtle of Chinon, near Saumur, in Normandy; undoubtedly the greateſt Prince of his time, and whoſe early ſucceſſes were equalled, if not ſurpaſſed, by the misfortunes that clouded the meridian, and that obſcured the cloſe of his life.

The firſt act of the reign of Richard, ſurnamed, from his perſonal bravery, Cœur de Lion, was a renewal of his former alliance with Philip. The two Kings, actuated by an importunate deſire to lead their amies into Aſia, mutually pledged themſelves not to invade the dominions of each other during their proſecution of the cruſade; and ſwearing an inviolable fidelity at Nonencourt, they formed their ultimate reſolutions reſpecting their ſubſequent enterpriſe; when they determined that they would not truſt the treachery of the Greek Emperor, ſo fatal to the ſucceſs of former undertakings, but conduct their preſent armament by ſea, embarking with them their ſtores and proviſions, and preſerve, by means of their naval force,

A. D. a free communication with their own ſtates, and with the weſtern parts of Europe.

1190. Previouſly to his departure, Philip thought proper to provide for the ſecurity of his dominions, by nominating to the regency of the kingdom, and to the guardianſhip of his ſon, his mother, Adelaide, and his uncle, the Cardinal of Champagne; and ſo ſoon as he had aſſembled his troops, repaired to Vezelay, in Burgundy, the deſtined appointment for a general rendezvous: here the two Princes again met, and found their united forces amount to one hundred thouſand men: their mutual promiſes were reiterated; and advancing together to Lyons, they ſeparated—Philip proceeding to Genoa, and Richard to Marſeilles, where their reſpective fleets had orders to await them.

September the 14th, having embarked, the two Monarchs were obliged, nearly at the ſame time, to take ſhelter in the harbour of Meſſina, where they were conſtrained to abide the whole winter; a delay which laid the foundation of thoſe animoſities ſo fatal in the end to their common intereſt, as to their long-concerted plans.

Both equally haughty, ambitious, intrepid, and rapacious, they were, from ſituation, as well rivals in power as competitors for glory. The Engliſh Sovereign was candid, impolitic, and violent; and laid himſelf open, upon every occaſion, to the arts of Philip, who was cool, provident, and intriguing, and who ſeized every opportunity by which

which he might take advantage of the ſincere and impetuous temper of his rival. A. D.

Tancred, at the time of the arrival of the Kings of France and England, was in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Sicily, and conſidered as the uſurper of the rights of Conſtantia, the conſort of the Emperor Henry the Sixth: he had likewiſe confined Joan, the Queen of William the Second, the late Sovereign, and the ſiſter of Richard, for having oppoſed his acceſſion to the crown. With the German Court Philip had entered into a ſtrict alliance: the Sicilian Monarch, therefore, upon the approach of two powers, both inimical to his intereſt, had ſome reaſon to doubt the ſtability of his government: he, however, paid his court with ſo much addreſs to both Princes, that notwithſtanding a diſpute that threatened the ſafety of the city, and was nearly productive of a ſerious rupture between the Kings, his endeavours were ultimately ſucceſsful.

The rival Monarchs, to obviate the ill effects of their recent diſpute, entered once more into a new treaty—again ſolemnly pledged themſelves to perſevere in their original plans; and, upon the proofs adduced by Richard, of the improper intimacy that had ſubſiſted between the Princeſs Alice, and his late father, Philip gave up her cauſe, and forbore to inſiſt upon a ratification of the marriage. All controverſy being at length adjuſted, they parted, with an appearance of cordiality, little accordant

A. D. accordant to the jealouſy and rancour that pervaded the breaſts of both; and embarked for the deſtined ſcene of their future exploits.

Ptolemais, better known by the name of Saint John of Acre, had been for two years inveſted, by the united efforts of the Chriſtian Princes of the Eaſt, againſt the defenſive exertions of Saladin, and the co-operating powers of the Mahometan Princes. The chief command had been entruſted to Guy of Luſignan, the dethroned King of Jeruſalem, whoſe army, at firſt inferior to that of the Infidels, was daily augmenting by Europeans of all nations, and by the remains of a numerous force that had been led into Paleſtine by the Emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa. This victorious Prince had thrice overcome the Imperial troops of the Greek Emperor; penetrated to Laodicea; defeated the Turks in ſeveral engagements; and had croſſed Mount Tarſus—when, imprudently bathing in the cold ſtream of the Cydnus, ſo fatal to the life of the Macedonian hero, he caught a mortal diſtemper, which arreſted him in the midſt of his victories, and rendered all his ſucceſſes abortive. His army was diſperſed; a part retired to Germany; and ſome thouſands, as we have before obſerved, repaired to the aſſiſtance of the beſiegers of Acre.

The arrival of the Gallic, preceded that of the Engliſh Sovereign. The latter had been driven by a ſtorm upon the coaſt of Cyprus, where the inhoſpitality of Iſaac Comnenus arouſed the indignation

nation of Richard. He engaged, and defeated A. D.
the Cypriot forces, and made a conqueſt of that iſland.

The acceſſion of ſtrength that reſulted from the 1191.
arrival of the two Monarchs, infuſed new life into the beſiegers: the plan of operation was ſettled. While Philip attacked the town, Richard defended the trenches againſt the hovering army of Saladin; and alternately exchanging their ſhare of the dangers and fatigues of the ſiege, inſpired their followers with an emulation, productive of moſt extraordinary acts of perſonal valour. Their harmony did not long prevail; and the whole power of the Chriſtians aſſembled was divided by the private diſputes of Guy of Luſignan, and Conrad, Count of Montſerrat, for the ſucceſſion to the crown of Jeruſalem, ſtill in the hand of the Mahometans:—yet the ſiege advanced; and the garriſon, reduced to extremity, by the length of their oppoſition, were compelled to ſurrender priſoners of war; and to promiſe that their Sovereign ſhould diſburſe a large ſum for their ranſom, reſtore to liberty the Chriſtian priſoners, and give up the true croſs which he had taken at the battle of Tiberiade. Thus, after the loſs of three hundred thouſand men, reputed to have fallen during its continuance, excluſively of the church, and of the nobility, terminated this famous and bloody enterpriſe; and in which Richard, by an act of ferocity, which ſtained his victories, upon the refuſal

A. D. refuſal of Saladin to ratify the capitulation, condemned his priſoners, amounting to five thouſand, to be immediately decapitated.

Inſtead of purſuing the advantages that were expected to ariſe from this valuable acquiſition, the envy and the rancour of the two Monarchs ſet not any bounds to their animoſity. Diſguſted at the aſcendancy aſſumed, and which the more precipitate valour of Richard had acquired,—Philip declared his intentions of returning to Europe; renewed his oath, not to moleſt the dominions of his rival; and, to prevent a ſuſpicion that he had abandoned the common cauſe, left ten thouſand of his troops, under the conduct of Eudes, Duke of Burgundy: making, therefore, his ill ſtate of health an excuſe for his departure, he quitted Paleſtine, and proceded to his native country; but the ungenerous motives by which he was actuated were too viſible in his ſubſequent conduct.

Having embarked at Tyre, he landed in Italy, and endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon Celeſtine the Third to abſolve the ſolemn oaths he had taken to Richard, but which proved no check to the treacherous deſigns he had in contemplation. He endeavoured to depreciate the well-earned fame of his rival, by the moſt improbable calumnies; imputed to his machinations the aſſaſſinations of Conrad, Marquis of Montſerrat, who had been deſtroyed by the emiſſaries of an Aſiatic Prince,

commonly

commonly known by the appellation of the Old Man of the Mountains.—When in Paleſtine, Richard was entirely free from all ſuſpicion: Conrad himſelf, with his dying breath, having left to his protection, his widow; and the Prince of the aſſaſſins, for ſo were his ſubjects called, and from whom the word has found its way into Europe, avowed the perpetration of the deed. Philip, however, affected to diſtruſt his perſonal ſecurity, and a guard was inſtituted, ſince known by the diſtinction of *Gens d'Armes*, to prevent, as it was intimated, his being ſubject to a ſimilar fate; but theſe ſhallow artifices impoſed not upon the world: his immediate alliance and ſecret intrigues with John, the brother of the King of England, made apparent the bent of his ambitious and unprincipled wiſhes. A. D.

Richard, no way diſcouraged by the deſertion of his ally, purſued his conqueſts; defeated, with a prodigious carnage, an army of three hundred thouſand men, commanded by Saladin, and after both the right and left wings of the Chriſtian forces, under the direction of D'Aveſnes and the Duke of Burgundy, had been routed. Aſcalon, and ſome other conſiderable fortreſſes, ſurrendered to his arms; and having performed many extraordinary feats of valour, he came within ſight of Jeruſalem, the object of his armament; but here, contrary to his expectations, he was obliged to cloſe the brilliant career of his rapid ſucceſſes.

The

A. D. The Germans, the Italians, and the French, exhauſted by fatigue, reduced by ſickneſs, and diſtreſſed by want, or diſguſted, as others affirm, at the intereſted motives which appeared to have actuated the Engliſh Monarch in his conqueſts, declined any farther proſecution of their enterpriſe. The Duke of Burgundy, in particular, prompted, too probably, by an earneſt wiſh to recommend himſelf to the favour of Philip, took every opportunity to oppoſe the plans, and to mortify the daring ſpirit of his rival.

Thus compelled to forego the hope of extending his conqueſts; and alarmed at the intrigues which he was informed were carrying on in Europe,—a compromiſe with Saladin took place, who, at the price of moſt of the acquiſitions of Richard, conſented to a truce of three years. Acre, Joppa, with a few inſignificant places, and an unmoleſted indulgence for the Chriſtians to perform their accuſtomed pilgrimages to Jeruſalem, were the only advantages reſulting from the unhappy waſte of blood and treaſure that had been laviſhed in this fanatic and uſeleſs expedition.

1192—3 Shipwrecked near Aquileia, and conſcious of the inimical deſigns of his enemies, the Engliſh Monarch attempted to paſs through Germany in diſguiſe; but his liberality and profuſion betrayed his character, and gave ſuſpicion of his rank: he was diſcovered, and arreſted by the orders of Leopold, Duke of Auſtria, to whom he had given offence

offence during the ſiege of Acre. The ungenerous Prince, in conſideration of a large ſum of money, delivered him up to the Emperor, Henry the Sixth, who affected likewiſe to have juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the unfortunate Richard, in conſequence of an alliance he had formed with Tacred, the King of Sicily, and inſolently and inhumanly loaded with irons the royal captive. Confined in a remote caſtle, during the ſpace of fifteen months, in the heart of Germany, he remained, carefully concealed from the knowledge of the world, by his unfeeling and vindictive enemies. A. D.

No ſooner informed of the impriſonment of his rival, than Philip openly avowed the rancour of his mind, and employed every meaſure that force could effect, or negociation compaſs, both againſt his perſon and dominions. He made the Emperor large offers to deliver him into his hands; ſent the degraded Prince, by his ambaſſador at the German Court, a defiance, and a declaration of war; invited John to a conference, in which that treacherous Prince engaged that Philip ſhould be allowed to poſſeſs himſelf of a part of the province of Normandy, and that he would accept from his hands the inveſtiture of the remainder. In conſequence of this arrangement, the Gallic Monarch invaded the ceded territories, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral fortreſſes, ſubdued the diſtricts of Eu and Aumale, and laid ſiege to Rouen.

The

A. D. The prudent conduct, and the perſevering valour of the Earl of Leiceſter, ſaved that important city from falling into the hands of the enemy: he repulſed them in every attack; and his forces daily decreaſing, the King of France conſented, for a pecuniary conſideration, offered by the Engliſh regency, to allow a ceſſation of hoſtilities for the period of ſix months.

1193—9 A prey to his reſentment, the Engliſh Monarch ſtill continued to languiſh in confinement; —and, compelled to ſubmit to inſult and indignity, was treated like a common malefactor by the cruel and rapacious Henry. It was in vain that the queen dowager, and the regency of the kingdom, appealed to the interpoſition of the Pope, as the general protector of the champions of the Croſs; more particularly in favour of one of the moſt illuſtrious of the cruſaders, and who had ſo ſingularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his perſonal exploits in Paleſtine. The zeal of the Pontiff correſponded not with the anxiety of Eleanor. The indignant Richard having been produced before a Diet of the empire, in the city of Worms, his intrepidity and eloquence made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the minds of the German Princes, that the Emperor, already obnoxious from his ſordid avarice, and the many flagrant acts of injuſtice he had committed, ſuſpecting his ſafety might be endangered by the further detention of the Engliſh Prince, conſented to reſtore him to liberty, upon the

the payment of the enormous ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds. A conſiderable portion of the ranſom was ſpeedily remitted, and hoſtages accepted, until the accompliſhment of the remainder. The offers of Philip and John, to double that ſum, prevailed upon the mercenary diſpoſition of Henry, to endeavour to revoke the promiſed engagement; but the diligence of Richard rendered unavailing his treacherous purſuit; and Philip, when informed that his prey had eſcaped his manœuvres, addreſſed a letter to his confederate, and therein intimated, "That the devil had "eſcaped, and that it was neceſſary for him to "beware of his ſafety." A.D.

After a ſhort ſtay in England, when he received the moſt loyal and affectionate inſtances of the joy and attachment of his ſubjects, Richard, impatient for revenge, repaired to Normandy; and immediately directed his march to Verneuil, which Philip had inveſted, and which would probably have fallen into his hands, had it not been for the treachery of the perfidious John. Deſirous of recovering the favour of his brother, inſtead of an open and a manly eſſay of arms, he ſtained the dignity of his ſtation, by the baſe arts of a coward and aſſaſſin. Having been entruſted by Philip with the defence of Evreux, he invited the French officers to a public entertainment, and cauſed three hundred of them to be maſſacred during the participation of the feaſt, and, with the aſſiſtance of the

A. D. townſmen, attacked the citadel, and delivered up the city to the King of England.

Enraged at the information of this perfidy, the Gallic Monarch, accompanied by a choſen band of followers, left his camp, in the ſilence of the night, ſurpriſed and burnt the city; and, by way of retaliation, put to death all the Engliſh in the garriſon, and moſt of the unfortunate, but innocent inhabitants; thus leaving behind him a melancholy memorial of his revenge and fury. His army, ignorant of the motive of his departure, and informed of the approach of Richard, diſperſed; and, upon his return, the diſappointed Monarch was compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and to make a rapid retreat into his own dominions.

More exaſperated than ever, the two Kings proſecuted the war with mutual animoſity, but without any deciſive action. Their powers were not equal to the reſentments by which they were actuated: the moſt trivial exploits, unworthy of record, evince the extreme weakneſs of the Princes of the age, and the little authority they poſſeſſed over their refractory vaſſals, whom they were ſeldom able to keep together a ſufficient length of time to purſue any regular plan of operation. While the Nobility were exempted from ſuffering any immediate diſtreſs, the lower orders of ſociety were reduced to miſery by the perſonal diſputes of their Sovereigns, who, deſtroying hamlets, deſolating countries, carried their exceſſes to the moſt dread-

ful

ful extremities; put out the eyes of their priſoners; A. D.
ſacrificed the wretched inhabitants either to the ſword, or doomed them to lament their deprivation of liberty, or the deſtruction of thoſe fruits of the earth, which ſhould be the recompence of patient toil, and perſevering induſtry. Such is the unavoidable conſequence of that ſyſtem, ſo derogatory to the rights of individuals, ſo ſubverſive of order and concord in the ſtate, in which one tyrant lords it, with an iron hand, over thouſands of induſtrious, but degraded vaſſals! a ſyſtem, in which feeling is inert, and from which the perſecuted ſufferer has no refuge but in the quiet retreat of the grave!

Richard, in one of the numerous rencounters of this war, ſurpriſed the forces of his rival, between Blois and Fréteval; by which accident Philip loſt his military cheſt, his regal ſignet, and the records of the crown, which uſually attended the perſon of the monarch in all his expeditions. The mutual inability of the contending Princes to continue their military exertions, induced them to conſent to a ceſſation of hoſtilities for a year; and the Princeſs Alice, who had been confined for a conſiderable time at Rouen, was delivered from her captivity into the hands of her brother.

The King of England having entered into an alliance with the Emperor, the war re-commenced before the expiration of the truce. Thus, without any event of conſequence, mutually haraſſing,

A. D. and alternately haraſſed, and with ſhort intervals of peace, animoſity continued between the French and Engliſh Sovereigns; ſometimes aſſiſted by their own vaſſals, at others by thoſe of their rivals, until the death of Richard left open the field of victory to the ambitious views of Philip, without an opponent worthy of his competition. This Prince was ſlain at Chalus, againſt the Viſcount of Limoges, one of his vaſſals, by an arrow, lanced from the hand of Bertran of Gourdon, as he was ſurveying the caſtle; a Monarch, whoſe courage, intrepidity, and military talents, were but ill recompenſed by his unconquerable pride, his ambition, his cruelty, his oppreſſive and arbitrary taxes, and which are never felt with ſo much reſentment, as when they are made the medium to accompliſh private vengeance, and do not refer to the honour and happineſs of the people.

It was during the continuation of this war that Philip was likewiſe embroiled with the Court of Rome. Soon after his return from his Aſiatic expedition, he had eſpouſed Ingeburge, a ſiſter of Canute, King of Denmark: an immediate diſguſt led him to a precipitate divorce; and he took, for the partner of his throne, Maria, or Agnes, a daughter of a Dalmatian Duke, a deſcendant, as it was pretended, of Charlemagne. Urged by the remonſtrances of the Daniſh Monarch, Celeſtine, who then filled the papal chair, had declared againſt the illegality both of the repudiation and marriage

of

of the French Sovereign; but his ſucceſſor, Innocent the Third, was ſo far from adopting the temporizing conduct of his predeceſſor, that he ordered the Cardinal of Capua to convene a council at Dijon, for the examination of this ſcandalous affair, and laid the kingdom of France under an interdict. Philip perſevered for ſome time in his oppoſition to the Pontiff; and, provoked at the obedience of the Gallic clergy, who acknowledged the apoſtolical ſentence, and enabled by an army of mercenaries, which he had retained in his pay, ſeized upon their temporal poſſeſſions, confiſcated the effects of the canons, and impoſed taxes upon the lower orders of the clergy and the laity, who had murmured at the intermiſſion of divine ſervice; but, whether alarmed at the general clamour, or weary of this life of violence, he at length ſubmitted to make an offer to the holy ſee, to have the matters in diſpute once more inveſtigated. A. D.

A council thereupon was convened at Soiſſons; and, notwithſtanding his power and his addreſs, he found that his wiſhes were not likely to be conſulted at the concluſion of their determinations: he therefore informed the legate, that he would ſpare him the trouble of a farther examination of the affair; that he had himſelf decided the cauſe; and, repairing to the convent in which Ingeburge was confined, conducted her to the capital, and acknowledged her as his queen. The unfortanate Agnes, ſtill aſſured of the King's attachment to

A. D. her perſon, and diſguſt at that of her rival, for he ſoon again baniſhed her to a rigorous confinement at Etampes, yet ſurvived not long her diſgrace; and the ſame Pontiff who had thus diſannulled her marriage, by an inconſiſtency as capricious as it might have been dangerous, legitimized her children, and by this ſentence rendered her ſon capable of ſucceeding to the throne of his father.

1199. Upon the demiſe of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, his crown and dominions had deſcended to John, ſurnamed Lackland, notwithſtanding the ſuperior pretenſions of Arthur, Duke of Brittany, the ſon of Geoffrey, his elder brother. Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared in favour of the young Prince; and Conſtantia, his mother, ſolicited the protection of the Gallic Monarch, and ſent him to be educated with Lewis, the heir of the French crown, at Paris. Philip, who had concluded a truce of five years with England, juſt before the death of the late Sovereign, willingly reſumed his arms; and war, re-illumined, ſeemed to continue with more perſeverance than ever; but the ſucceſs of the King of France againſt the Flemings, rela-
1200. tive to the ſucceſſion of Artois, and the ſubmiſſion of their Count, alarmed the irreſolute mind of the Engliſh tyrant; and the ſecret departure of Arthur from the court of his rival, whom his mother, jealous of his increaſing influence in thoſe provinces that had declared for her ſon, had now entruſted to the care of his uncle, induced both the Sovereigns

to

to liſten to terms of peace. Having adjuſted all A. D.
matters in diſpute, and ſettled the limits of their reſpective territories;—to render the union more durable, John gave Blanch, his niece, the daughter of Alonſo, the ninth king of Caſtile, to Lewis, the ſon of Philip; ceded his right to Iſſoudun, Graſſy, and other fiefs of Berry, to the young couple; and likewiſe engaged, ſhould he not have any legitimate heirs, to entail the territories he held in France upon the iſſue of that marriage.

This reconciliation promiſed to be laſting; but the flattering proſpect of tranquillity was quickly overcaſt: the incontinence of one Sovereign, and the ambition of the other, again plunged their dominions into a reſentful and ſanguinary war.

John had become ſuddenly enamoured of Iſabel of Angoulême, affianced to the Count de la Marche: divorcing his queen, he carried off, by violence, the intended bride, and immediately afterwards eſpouſed her. Indignant at this act of inſult and injuſtice, the injured party excited commotions in Normandy and Poitou, which the Engliſh Monarch repreſſed with ſo much ſeverity, that the malcontent Barons appealed to Philip, and demanded redreſs from his authority, which he was bound to give, as their ſuperior lord.

Ever willing to interfere in diſputes which opened the path to his ambitious projects, the French King interpoſed in behalf of the complainants: three times the puſillanimous John ſtipulated to ſatisfy,

A. D. and redreſs the grievances alledged againſt him, and as often violated his engagements; when a new and formidable ally in the Duke of Brittany, promiſed his enemies encouragement and ſupport. The young Prince, aware of the treacherous character of his uncle, ſought, in an union with the French Monarch, and the diſaffected Lords, both ſecurity, and an extenſion of authority. Repairing to Paris, he received the honour of knighthood from the hand of Philip, with Mary, the daughter of that Monarch; and the inveſtiture of the counties of Anjou and Maine, which he had formerly reſigned to the King of England. Tellieres, Boulevart, Mortimer, Lyons, and Gournay, fell into the hands of the French Sovereign: but the young Duke, ardent to diſtinguiſh his perſonal proweſs, undertook, with an half-formed army, to beſiege Mirabeau, whither he was informed that Eleanor, his grandmother, who had ever oppoſed his intereſts, had retired. John haſtily advanced to her relief; and, falling upon the camp of Arthur, before he was prepared for his reception, diſperſed his army, and carried off in triumph the unfortunate Prince, with the Count de la Marche, and many others of the moſt conſiderable leaders among the revolted Barons.

1203. The death of Arthur, and, as there was too much reaſon to ſuſpect, by the hands of his inexorable uncle, was a fatal ſtroke to the intereſts of the perpetrator of this inhuman deed. Enraged at this cruel

cruel action, the Bretons vowed the moſt implacable revenge; and Eleanor, the ſiſter of the departed Prince, being doomed to perpetual confinement, by the unfeeling John, they choſe, for their Sovereign, Alice, the youngeſt daughter of Conſtantia, by her ſecond marriage with Guy of Tours; and Philip ſummoned the Engliſh Monarch to appear and anſwer the charges that had been brought againſt him by the nobles of Brittany. Upon his refuſal to attend, he was adjudged by his peers guilty of felony and parricide, and his dominions in France for ever forfeited to the demeſnes of his ſuperior lord; and the King of France commenced the moſt vigorous preparations to execute the ſentence that had thus been paſſed againſt him. A. D. 1203—5.

The univerſal deteſtation in which he was held was favourable to the active temper, and ambitious views of his opponent. Thoſe great vaſſals of the crown, whoſe intereſts might have led them to oppoſe the dangerous progreſs of their Sovereign, were not in a condition to check the rapid increaſe of his influence: the Counts of Flanders and Blois were engaged in the Holy Land; the Count of Champagne was an infant; and after a feeble reſiſtance on the part of his unworthy rival, Philip had the ſatisfaction, within the contracted ſpace of two years, to re-annex to the crown of France, the whole of the valuable province of Normandy, after having been rather more than three centuries diſmembered from the inheritance of Charlemagne,

by

A. D. by the ceſſion of Charles the Simple; having had ſucceſſively, in that courſe of time, ſixteen dukes, of whom ſix were kings of England, the deſcendants of Rollo; the line ending in John, the moſt weak, as the moſt vicious prince that had been ever ſuffered to hold the reins of government.

Proceeding with his victorious troops, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and a part of Poitou, ſubmitted to the arms of the Gallic Monarch; and thus, by the criminal indolence of a mean and daſtardly prince, the active and perſevering ambition of another, and the diſaffection of a diſcontented and inſulted nation, were five opulent and extenſive provinces torn from the Engliſh crown, in an inconſiderable ſpace of time, which, in the ordinary courſe of events, would have required many ages to have disjoined.

While the active genius of Philip was rapidly extending the limits of his dominions, the ſpirit of cruſading, far from evaporating, had continued with its accuſtomed fervor; and the vaſſals of the French Monarch had eſtabliſhed for themſelves an empire, five hundred leagues from the ſeat of his government and authority. The principal inſtigator of this new armament had been Foulques, prieſt of Reuilly, whoſe vehemence and zeal unhappily made up for the deficiencies of eloquence, and for the more ſolid acquirements of mental underſtanding. Among many of the Nobles of France, whoſe aſſumption of the croſs opened the

way

way to the deſtruction of the Greek Princes of Con- A. D.
ſtantinople, were chiefly to be conſidered, Bald-
win, the ninth Count of Flanders, Lewis of Cham-
pagne, Count of Blois, and the Counts of Perche
and Brienne. Theſe adventurers, who were chiefly
French, with ſome Germans, were conducted by
the Count of Flanders, and ſupplied with ſhips and
naval ſtores by the Venetians, whom they not only
liberally paid for their aſſiſtance, but reſtored to
their obedience the revolted city of Zara, in Dal-
matia, with its dependent territories.

The grand, and only object of this equipment,
had been conſidered the recovery of the Holy
Land, already retarded by the above event; but
the firſt adventure that preſented itſelf in their
route, ſeems to have obliterated all recollection of
the occaſion for which they had armed. While
they were aſſembled at Venice, and occupied in
preparations for their Aſiatic expedition, the ſon of
Iſaac Angelus repaired to the leaders of the arma-
ment, to implore their aſſiſtance againſt his am-
bitious uncle, who had depoſed his father, the
Emperor of Conſtantinople, deprived him of ſight,
and continued to detain him in confinement.

The offers held out by the young Prince, ſhould
the unprincipled uſurper, by their aid, be driven from
the throne, appeared ſo very advantageous to the
cruſaders, that they ardently eſpouſed his cauſe,
proceeded to, beſieged, and made themſelves maſters
of Conſtantinople, and reſtored the inſulted Mo-
narch

A. D. narch to his wreſted dignity; and, upon his death-bed, a few days after, his ſon ſucceeded to his imperial honours: but ſcarcely had the champions of the croſs departed from the ſcene of their ſucceſſes, when the new Sovereign, obnoxious to the Greeks, from the recent diſorders committed by their allies, was depoſed, put to death, and Alexis Ducas, ſurnamed Murtzufle, declared Emperor of the Eaſt. The Count of Flanders, and his followers, willing to juſtify their violence under any pretext, avowed their intention to revenge the cauſe of their ally, returned a ſecond time, beſieged, and, after a reſiſtance of ſixty days, again became the poſſeſſors of the unfortunate city. Thoſe who ſubmitted, or thoſe whoſe intrepidity attempted to oppoſe them, were alike ſacrificed to their licentious barbarity; and, abandoning themſelves to the moſt wanton and cruel exceſſes, ſet no bounds to their avarice and fury: the ſhare of booty acquired by the inſatiable rapacity of the French alone, has been eſtimated at four hundred thouſand marks of ſilver. Baldwin, the elected Sovereign, was formally inveſted in the church of Saint Sophia, with the perſonal diſtinctions of the Eaſtern Emperors; and thus was the moſt dignified and the moſt flouriſhing city, in the poſſeſſion of a Chriſtian Prince, taken and ranſacked by thoſe very champions who had ſolely profeſſed to take up arms againſt the enemies of Chriſt, and recover from the unbelievers the ſacred ſpot upon which he ſuffered.

The

The Venetians had, for their ſhare, Peloponeſus, A. D.
the iſland of Candia, and ſeveral cities on the coaſt of Phrygia; the Marquis of Montferrat took Theſſaly. The principal leaders were each remunerated by a portion of the ſpoil; and the Pope enjoyed the uncontrouled command of the eaſtern church, ſo long as the empire of the Latin Princes continued to exiſt.

Notwithſtanding this extraordinary and unexpected revolution, the courage of the deſcendants of the Comnenian race was not depreſſed: Michael, David, and Alexis, three chiefs of this line, preſerved a part of the imperial territories in Epirus, Romania, and Anatolia: the latter aſſumed the loſty title of Emperor of Trebizond; as likewiſe did Theodore Laſcaris, another Greek Prince, who founded a ſmall ſovereignty at Nice.

The new empire thus formed by the Latins, was, however, never firmly eſtabliſhed. Baldwin, in an engagement near Adrianople againſt the Bulgarians, was defeated, and conſigned to a cruel death by the Sovereign of thoſe people: his brother and ſucceſſor, Henry, loſt his life by poiſon. Peter of Courtenay, by his marriage with Violante, their ſiſter, was crowned by the Pope, but was maſſacred by the commands of Theodore Angelus Comnenus. The ſucceſſive Sovereigns were his ſons, Robert, and Baldwin the Second, the latter under the regency of John of Brienne, the depoſed King of Jeruſalem; and in rather more than half a century,

A. D. tury, the empire was again wreſted from the Latins by Michael Paleologus.

1206—13 To return to the tranſactions of Europe—Guy of Tours, who had eſpouſed Conſtance, the mother of Arthur, continued to govern Brittany after her deceaſe; but, jealous of the progreſs of the Gallic Monarch, he detached himſelf from his intereſt, and offered his aſſiſtance to the King of England, to recover thoſe poſſeſſions which had been wreſted from him in France. John, with a conſiderable army, made good his landing at Rochelle, and reduced to aſhes the city of Angers; but, intimidated by the approach of Philip, he abandoned his enterpriſe, and returned to England, with ſhame and diſgrace, leaving his ally, the Duke of Brittanny, to obtain the beſt terms he could procure from his indignant and powerful rival. Through the mediation of the Pope, the perfidious, as the puſillanimous ſon of Henry, obtained a truce of two years; but almoſt immediately encountered the indignation of the Holy See, by a diſpute, in which he involved himſelf, reſpecting the nomination of a prelate to the metropolitan ſee of Canterbury.

Innocent the Third, one of the moſt active and daring Pontiffs that ever ſucceeded to the papal honours, was, at his acceſſion to that dignity, in the full vigour of his age: of an enterpriſing mind, a lofty genius, and an undaunted ſpirit, he attempted, more openly than his predeceſſors had done,

done, to convert the influence they had obtained A.D.
over the Princes of Europe, into an efficient and abſolute dominion. To effect this ſpiritual authority, he ſent his legates into every corner of Chriſtendom; and the zeal he profeſſed for the reformation of eccleſiaſtical abuſes, gained him credit, even in the courts of thoſe Sovereigns who had been moſt jealous of the papal encroachments.

Having appointed to the primacy of England, and in oppoſition to the wiſhes of John, Cardinal Langton, a native of that iſland, but educated in France, and deeply in the confidence of the Holy Father; this ſtretch of pontifical authority was reſented in ſuch lofty terms by that otherwiſe abject Prince, that Innocent fulminated his anathemas againſt him, and laid his kingdom under a general interdict. To avenge this inſult, he baniſhed Langton, and all his adherents, from the dominions dependent upon his crown.

While the enterpriſing Pontiff was endeavouring to extend his influence over one kingdom of Europe, he was not the leſs indefatigable in his own perſon, and, through the zeal of his emiſſaries, in making it felt in others; and the arms of the fanatic Catholics were called upon to undertake a new cruſade; not as heretofore, againſt the followers of Mahomet, but againſt a quiet and inoffenſive people, differing in their ſpiritual tenets from the intolerant ſpirit of their unfeeling perſecutors.

Innocent,

A. D. Innocent, among the variety of his reformations, had long revolved in his mind the converſion or extermination of the Albigenſes, a ſpecies of ſectaries in the ſouth of France, who comprehended, under that name, all deſcriptions of people whoſe religious profeſſions were not exactly conformable to the orthodox opinions of the Church of Rome. They derived their name from the town of Albi, in whoſe vicinity were to be found the moſt conſiderable number of theſe enthuſiaſts, and who, upon a candid inveſtigation, appear to have been guilty of no other crimes, than a negligence in the outward forms of the eſtabliſhed church, and being too open and indiſcriminate in their invectives upon the increaſing luxury, and the unbounded influence of the clergy.

Raymond the Fifth, Count of Thouloufe, occupied in maintaining the tranquillity of his dominions, had tolerated indifferently all opinions within his territories, that did not militate againſt the order of his eſtabliſhments, or diſturb the quiet of his ſubjects. The Pope had deputed three miſſionaries to carry into execution his extenſive reforms into that country; one of whom, Pierre of Caſtlenau, having conducted himſelf with extreme ſeverity, was aſſaſſinated within the demeſnes of that Prince. Without deigning to inveſtigate the affair, the impetuous Pontiff denounced againſt him a ſentence of excommunication; iſſued a bull affecting thoſe unhappy ſectaries,

taries, by which all Chriſtendom was invited to unite in their deſtruction, and held out the ſame indulgence to thoſe who ſhould take up the croſs in this deſtructive warfare, as had been before offered to the cruſades for the recovery of the Holy Land. A. D.

Raymond, to avert the approaching ſtorm, endeavoured, by ſubmiſſion, to appeaſe the reſentment of the Pontiff; and, delivering up ſeveral fortreſſes in Provence, ſubmitted himſelf to the moſt humiliating penance; and having ſworn, upon the ſacred relics, an implicit obedience to the ſee of Rome, was commanded to lead the army appointed to exterminate his ſubjects, and depopulate his country—a ſentence at which the feeling mind revolts, but which could not diſturb the breaſt of the zealous and inhuman Innocent with one convulſive ſigh, or a ſingle tremor of contrition!

The infatuated army, drawn together by their fanatic zeal, intent upon their work of death, and increaſed to one hundred thouſand combatants, proceeded towards Bezieres, the capital of Raymond-Roger, the nephew of the Count of Thouloufe. The town was taken by aſſault: neither ſex, age, nor even religious opinion, found a ſafeguard againſt the ſword of indiſcriminate ſlaughter. With an augmented force they advanced to Carcaſſonne, which, animated by the preſence of the Count of Bezieres, made a gallant, but ineffectual

A. D. defence, and ſhared at length the unhappy fate of the former city.

Simon of Mountfort having been appointed the leader of theſe ſanguinary troops, the war was continued with inconceivable fury. The Count of Thouloufe, nearly allied to Philip, had in vain endeavoured to influence the Gallic Monarch in his favour, and in that of the perſecuted Albigenſes: hence he again attempted to ſoften the rigorous meaſures purſued by the Court of Rome; his eloquence obtained him from the Pontiff an abſolution for the imputed aſſaſſination of Caſtlenau, and an order to his legates to inveſtigate impartially the affair: but Montfort, who claimed the conquered territories, found the means to preſerve the ſupport of the repreſentatives of Innocent, and too plainly convinced the unfortunate Raymond, that he had little to expect from the ſincerity of the Papal See. Freſh charges for imputed offences being adduced againſt him, he was once more excommunicated; and this dreadful and extraordinary warfare continued for ſeveral years, with various ſucceſs, and on both ſides with determined and ferocious barbarity.

Peter the Second, King of Arragon, had, at the commencement of this iniquitous affair, appeared inclinable to eſpouſe the party of the perſecuted Count; but ſoftened by the application, or intimidated by the remonſtrances of Montfort, he abandoned his projected plans, and granted him the

the inveſtiture of Bezieres and Carcaſſone, both of which were fiefs, dependent upon his crown. Repenting, however, of the alliance, and reflecting upon the violence and inhumanity of Montfort, he united himſelf with the Counts of Thouloufe, of Foix, Commenge, and the Prince of Bearn, to repel his hoſtile and ſanguinary invaſions. Never were perhaps hoſtilities carried on with ſo great a variety of fortune: alternately conquering and ſubdued, the inhuman leader of the cruſade ſet not any bounds to his mercileſs rage; and the particular details related of his enormities, are too ſhocking to juſtify any farther record. A. D.

The death of Peter, untimely ſlain at Muret by the troops of Simon, while purſuing a feigned retreat of that wily and conſummate general, was ſucceeded by a terrible ſlaughter of the confederate troops, diſperſed, and purſued, as far as the walls of Thouloufe, by the rapid and indefatigable victor. This ſignal and bloody advantage depreſſed the hopes of the unfortunate Raymond; and his ruin would have been complete, had the army of Montfort been in time reinforced by the expected ſuccours from the Gallic King, in conſequence of his offer to make with him a diviſion of his conqueſts in Languedoc.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting, the interdict that had been laid upon the dominions of the King of England, having failed in its intended effect, the Pontiff followed up his reſentments by

A. D. a gradation of ſentences, by which he flattered himſelf that he ſhould ultimately be enabled to reduce him to obedience. Emboldened by his ſucceſſes againſt the Albigenſes, as well as by the ſubmiſſion of Otho, the Emperor of Germany, he had fulminated his excommunications againſt the contumacious monarch, who, more indignant than ever, determined to oppoſe his temporal authority to the ſpiritual thunders of the Vatican. The general diſſatisfaction that enſued, ſerved but the more to exaſperate the fiery temper of this Prince; and brought on a furious perſecution of the biſhops within his realm, all of whom, excepting three, took refuge in the dominions of the King of France. The eccleſiaſtical vengeance of the Pope was yet unſated: his progreſſive reſentment abſolved his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance; and he made to Philip, as a ſovereign the moſt likely to ſecond his views, the tender of the Engliſh crown, a remiſſion of his ſins, and ſuch holy and eternal benefits as his ſacred ſituation could confer.

1213. Philip was not ſcrupulous nor tardy in his endeavours to avail himſelf of the inſidious offers of Innocent, which confirmed an authority that he ſeemed not to be aware might as readily be formed againſt himſelf. The moſt active preparations were commenced; ſeventeen hundred veſſels were aſſembled; a large army was, without difficulty, levied by the zeal of the moſt opulent vaſſals of the

the King, who ardent in his cauſe, from the expec- A. D.
tation of the ſpoils that were to be obtained upon their conqueſt of England, were led to form the moſt ſanguine hopes of a certain and immediate ſucceſs.

The ruin of John appeared to be inevitable. Deſpiſed by all ranks of people, for his cowardice and his inactivity, deteſted for his oppreſſions, the meanneſs of his vices, and the variety and injuſtice of his cruelties;—yet the fear entertained of the Gallic yoke, excited a confederacy in his ſupport, that would have been adequate to every purpoſe of defence, had he been capable of preſerving the leaſt firmneſs or conſiſtency of conduct. Beſides a very conſiderable national force, he entered into an alliance with Otho the Fourth, Emperor of Germany, and with the Counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Thouloufe; but, while the minds of men were agitated by the expectation of ſome deciſive action, the Pope contrived to deceive both parties, and to ſeize himſelf upon the ſplendid prize, to which he had, with ſo much art, encouraged the ambition of Philip to aſpire.

Pandolphus, the ſpiritual legate from the Roman ſee, having been properly inſtructed by the inſidious Pontiff, in a conference obtained with John at Dover, exaggerated the mighty and formidable preparations to which, in his paſſage through France, he had been the witneſs; and having awakened his ſurpriſe, endeavoured to excite his paſſions. He magnified, in terms of ſuch

A. D. forcible ſuſpicion, the diſaffection of his ſubjects, the ſecret combination of his vaſſals, and the critical ſituation of his affairs, that the puſillanimous Prince, forgetting even the ſlight remains of dignity, which, from ſituation, he might ſtill have poſſeſſed, ſhrunk a ſlave to his imbecility, and a martyr to his fears. Submitting with an abject obedience to the guiding judgment of Innocent, he made a formal ſurrender of his dominions to the Apoſtolic Chair, conſented to hold them in future, as the feudatory of the Holy See; ſubjected himſelf to the annual payment of one thouſand mares; and conſented to acknowledge Langton, as the primate of England, with the promiſe of a free pardon, and indemnification of their loſſes to all thoſe who had been exiled during this diſgraceful conteſt.

A day was appointed for the obſervance of this humiliating ceremony: this contemptible Prince, proſtrating himſelf before the inſolent repreſentative of the Pontiff, ſurrendered to him that crown which he had worn with ſo much infamy and diſgrace, and again received the ſenſeleſs bauble, as the acknowledged vaſſal of the Court of Rome. After this unjuſtifiable conceſſion, the imperious Nuncio returned to Boulogne, where Philip impatiently awaited his arrival to put to ſea, and accompliſh his intended enterpriſe; but here he was informed that the King of England had ſubmitted to the judgment of the Pope: he would not, therefore,

therefore, be permitted to carry his hoſtilities A. D.
againſt a kingdom in the actual poſſeſſion of the Holy See; and menaced him with the thunders of the Vatican, ſhould he preſume to diſturb the tranquillity of the dominions aſſigned to the ſucceſſor of Saint Peter.

The Gallic Monarch was not to be thus diſcouraded: enraged, he declared that he would not any longer be the dupe of that hypocritical farce that had been carried on againſt him; and expoſing the fraudulent conduct of the Court of Rome, determined, with the ſupport of his vaſſals, who were as little willing to relinquiſh the promiſed ſpoils, as their exaſperated and ambitious Sovereign, to perſevere, with vigour and alacrity, in his intended enterpriſe. But the ſecret negociation that had been formed againſt him, began to develope itſelf;—Ferdinand, Count of Flanders, abſolutely refuſed to follow his ſtandard: and he diſcovered that the allied Princes had ſo much flattered themſelves with a proſpect of ſucceſs, that the dominions upon which they expected to ſeize, were already allotted to the different confederates. Ferdinand was to have had the city of Paris, and the Iſle of France; the Count of Boulogne, the Vermandois; the King of England, the provinces beyond the Loire; the Emperor, Burgundy and Champagne; and Raymond, Count of Thouloufe, without any ſtipulated acquiſition, but probably under the expectation of recovering his invaded

A. D. inheritance, had likewiſe voluntarily proffered his ſuccour and ſupport.

To fruſtrate, at its commencement, a revolt that tended to counteract his meditated invaſion, he poured his forces into the territories of the Count of Flanders: Caſſel, Ypres, and Bruges, acknowledged the power, and ſubmitted to the ſuperiority of his arms. While employed in the ſiege of Ghent, the Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by the Earl of Saliſbury, the natural brother of John, ſurpriſed the Gallic fleet, and captured three hundred ſail, all laden with military ſtores and ammunition, burnt one hundred more, and blocked up the remainder in the harbour of Dam. In deſpair of being able to preſerve any part of his naval equipment, the enraged Monarch repaired to the ſcene of his diſgrace; ſurpriſed, and cut to pieces two thouſand of the enemy, who had ventured to approach the Gallic camp; and ordered the reſidue of his veſſels to be deſtroyed. Dam and Liſle were reduced to aſhes; Ghent capitulated; and Caſſel was diſmantled: but the enemy, far from being intimidated by the ſucceſs and ſeverity of his arms, were rather inflamed by the rapid extenſion of his power. The King of England, as if awakened from his lethargy, determined to carry his forces into the heart of France. Debarking at Rochelle, the Poitevins revolted in his favour; becoming maſter of Angers, he ravaged the country as far as the frontiers of Brittany. His proſperous inroads

inroads were but of ſhort duration. Lewis, the ſon of Philip, oppoſed his progreſs—the puſillanimous John retired with diſgrace, from his recent conqueſts, and awaited at Parthenay, in indolent expectation, the iſſue of the attempts, and the news of the exertions of his allies. A. D.

The French King, aware of the formidable preparations that were making againſt him, advanced with an army of fifty thouſand men, including the principal nobility of his dominions, with twelve hundred knights, and ſeven thouſand men at arms, the beſt body of cavalry at that time in Europe, to meet the combined and ſuperior forces of the enemy, amounting to between one and two hundred thouſand men; and led by Otho, Emperor of Germany. The two armies came in ſight at the village of Bouvines, ſituated between Tournay and Liſle; and a ſharp, a bloody, and a ſignal engagement enſued. The order of battle was arranged by Guerin, recently nominated to the biſhopric of Senlis; and to his excellent diſpoſition has been attributed ultimately the brilliant ſucceſſes of the day. 1214.

The action commenced a little before noon; and never was a field of battle better conteſted, or individual proweſs carried to a more romantic height. The King, who commanded in the centre, againſt whom the German forces had directed the chief ſtrength and vigour of their aſſaults, gave extraordinary inſtances of cool intrepidity;

A. D. pidity. Wounded in the neck, and thrown to the ground by a German ſoldier, the gallant Montigny, who bore the royal ſtandard, emblazoned, for the firſt time recorded in hiſtory, with fleurs de lys, with incredible feats of courage, and perſeverance of exertion, protected, and enabled the fallen Sovereign to remount, and expoſed the perſon of Otho to the ſame extremity of danger which he himſelf had ſo lately encountered. The German troops, in their turn, began on every ſide to give ground: the Emperor, deſpairing of being able to rally his ſcattered forces, abandoned to Philip the no longer diſputed field:—the rout became general; the Imperial ſtandard was taken: and thus, after a conflict of ſix hours, attended with various ſucceſs, and in every quarter warmly and valiantly diſputed, was terminated this memorable battle. Thirty thouſand Germans are ſaid to have crimſoned with their blood, the plains of Bouvines; and among the priſoners were four Princes of Germany, a long liſt of Nobility, and an infinite number of knights, and of perſons of diſtinction.

The captive Count of Boulogne was loaded with chains, and confined at Peronne. The unfortunate Ferdinand, Count of Flanders, reſerved to grace the triumph of the victor, immanacled in an open car, was produced, an object of humiliation and inſult, to the eyes of the multitude. After having ſatiated his pride by this inhuman

ſpectacle,

FERDINAND, COUNT OF FLANDERS,
Drawn through the Streets of Paris,
in an open Car, in Chains.

Dayes del. Grignion sculp.

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ſpectacle of a degraded Prince, conducted in ſolemn proceſſion through his capital, the miſerable object of his vengeance was doomed by Philip to become the ſolitary victim of his own reflections, in a long and rigorous impriſonment in the fortreſs of the Louvre. A. D.

From Paris, the ſcene of joy and exultation, he turned his arms to a ſuppreſſion of the malcontents of Poitou, who were ſtill attached to the cauſe of their ancient ſovereigns. John, ſtill ſhut up in Parthenay, was an opponent in himſelf ſo thoroughly contemptible, that it required but little exertion on the part of the Gallic Monarch, to wreſt from him the remaining poſſeſſions which he held in France; but here, in the height of his ſucceſs, when oppoſition ſunk before the terror of his arms, and the conqueſt of Guienne, and the part of Poitou that yet appertained to the Engliſh crown, would have been the inevitable conſequence,—the inadequate compenſation of ſixty thouſand pounds, through the intervention of the nuncio from the Holy See, induced the Gallic Monarch to withdraw his victorious troops, and to conſent to a truce for the lengthened term of five years. A meaſure which, however he may have been cenſured by the French hiſtorians, his better judgment ſeemed to ſanctify; conſcious, as he was, of the ſecret diſaffection of the principal nobility, from the rapid increaſe of his power, and ſenſible that, notwithſtanding his recent ſucceſs, 1215—16

the

A. D. the numerous army with which he had acquired conqueſt, he could not, at a critical juncture, with certainty command; the troops of the crown only bearing a ſmall proportion of the general amount, and which were more properly the forces of his vaſſals than his own.

This brilliant victory confirmed the authority of Philip: no internal faction ventured to diſturb his peace; no external enemies dared to aſſail his throne. The battle of Bouvines decided the fate of Otho. Frederic the Second, the ſon of Henry the Sixth, and of Conſtantia, his competitor for the Imperial honours, was received and acknowledged Emperor of Germany. The King of England, occupied in his diſputes with the Engliſh Barons, was not in a condition to attempt a foreign enterpriſe. The Count of Flanders, in cloſe confinement at the Louvre, was forgotten as an enemy. The principal Nobility, either in apparent attachment to his perſon and intereſt, or incapable of raiſing any commotion in his government, were obliged to preſerve, or to affect a ſemblance of tranquillity. Such was the ſituation of France, and ſuch the ſtate of the neighbouring powers, when he permitted his ſon to accompliſh the vow he had made in favour of the church, againſt the unfortunate and perſecuted Albigenſes!

In the unimportant annals of forty days, no military achievement was performed to exalt the martial character of Lewis. His arrival at the camp

camp of Montfort awakened the jealouſy of the Court of Rome; and having been preſent at the ſurrender of the cities of Thouloufe and Narbonne, he returned to Paris, to conſult upon an undertaking that promiſed to be more conducive to both his intereſt and ambition than the one in which he had ſo recently engaged. A. D.

John, King of England, the moſt unworthy, as the moſt daſtardly Prince that had been ſuffered to inſult the patience, and to abuſe the indulgence of a gallant nation, at length ſo completely excited the indignation of his ſubjects, that, upon his peremptory refuſal to ratify a charter, granted by Henry the Firſt, the Barons of the kingdom openly took up arms to defend their rights, and to reſtrain the farther encroachments of the regal power. Compelled to ſubmit at diſcretion, he conſented to ſign, at a general conference held at Runnemede, that celebrated inſtrument in writing, ſo well known, and ſo highly cheriſhed by every Engliſhman, under the name of MAGNA CHARTA; but having executed this ſolemn deed, he meditated in ſecrecy and in ſilence his future revenge. The Nobles, lulled into a fatal ſecurity, ſuffered him to introduce an army of foreign mercenaries into his devoted kingdom; and with theſe hireling and rapacious forces, the indignant Monarch took the field; and before the confederated lords could raiſe a force ſufficient to oppoſe the progreſs of his reſentment, he over-ran and laid waſte

A. D. waſte the whole extent of country from Dover unto Berwick. Incapable of an immediate union, the Barons were menaced with a total deſtruction, and reduced to the deſperate extremity of inviting the aſſiſtance of Philip, by an offer of their crown to Lewis, the heir of the Gallic monarchy.

The poſſeſſion of a throne, notwithſtanding its embarraſſments, and its cares, has been but ſeldom an object of refuſal; and Philip permitted his ſon to avail himſelf of the ſplendid offer. The Pope, whoſe intereſt encouraged him to oppoſe the deſtruction of his ſupple and dependent vaſſal, alarmed at the combination that was forming againſt him, endeavoured, by the accuſtomed menaces of interdicts and excommunications, to prevent the proſecution of his ambitious purpoſe: but the King of France, when his intereſts were concerned, ſet at defiance the thunders of the Vatican; but, willing to preſerve an appearance of reſpect for the Holy See, diſavowed his concurrence, while he ſecretly favoured all the plans of Lewis.

Determined to purſue the object of his wiſhes, and having obtained proper hoſtages for the perſonal ſecurity of his ſon, Philip permitted him to ſet forward upon his Engliſh expedition; while the Court of Rome, exaſperated at their diſobedience, fulminated, but ineffectually, its anathemas againſt them. Landing upon the coaſt of Kent, his ſucceſs was at firſt adequate to his moſt ſanguine expectations; and Dover, ſecured by the valour and fidelity

fidelity of Hubert de Bourg, was the only place A. D.
that reſiſted the progreſs of his arms. Received in the capital as the ſovereign of the kingdom, his army was daily augmented by the deſertion of thoſe who had hitherto ſupported the cauſe of John; and the Nobles of England had the melancholy proſpect of eſcaping the tyranny of their own King, by impoſing upon themſelves the yoke of a foreign Prince, when the decided preference imprudently given by the ſon of Philip to his French adherents, and the declaration of his favourite and confidential miniſter, the Count of Melun, who, in his laſt moments, warned the Engliſh Barons of their danger, from the ſecret intentions of the heir of the Gallic crown, awakened them to a ſenſe of the critical ſituation in which they ſtood. They began by degrees to withdraw themſelves from the French ſtandard; and the death of John, a ſignal intervention of Heaven in favour of his country! which, it were natural to imagine, would have ſtrengthened the pretenſions of his rival, gave eventually an incurable wound to the ſucceſs of his cauſe.

The Earl of Pembroke, the Marſhal of England, and, by the nature of his office, at the head of the army, aſſumed the government and guardianſhip of Henry, a youth of nine years of age, the ſon of the late King: this nobleman, who had ever been a faithful adherent of that Prince, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed for conſiſtency, than for honour

A.D. nour and integrity, conveyed his young charge to Glouceſter, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed; and having ſuffered him to grant a new charter, principally copied from that his father had been obliged to execute, repreſented by circular letters,, and in ſuch forcible language, to the mature conſideration of the Barons, their common intereſt, in a ſteady union, to reſtore the independency of the crown, that, upon the return of Lewis from France, whither he had been to levy new ſuccours to forward his enterpriſe, he found his party almoſt annihilated by diſaffection and deſertion. The total defeat of a French army, commanded by the Count of Perche, near Lincoln, with the deſtruction of his fleet by that of the Engliſh, under the command of Philip D'Albiney; and, inveſted himſelf in London by the victorious Pembroke; the Gallic Prince was anxious, upon any honourable pretence, of evacuating a kingdom, in which every thing had become hoſtile to his ſucceſs, and ſiniſter to his hopes. Urged by motives no leſs neceſſary than preſſing, he requeſted and obtained, through the mediation of the legate, a ceſſation of warfare; engaged to depart immediately from the theatre of his diſappointed ambition; gained for his adherents a general amneſty; conſented to the payment of fifteen thouſand marks of ſilver; and promiſed to procure the reſtoration of Normandy and its dependencies to the Engliſh crown: but ſhould his father prove averſe

averſe to the ratification of this agreement, he A. D.
then ſolemnly pledged himſelf to make good this
ſtipulation, ſhould it ever be his fortune to aſcend
the throne of his anceſtors.

Thus terminated the ſhort reign of Lewis in 1217—23
England. At his return he was abſolved in form
by the Apoſtolical Legate, upon the condition of
his affording pecuniary aid to the Chriſtians in
Paleſtine; and, upon the expiration of the truce
of five years that had been granted to John after
the deciſive battle of Bouvines, Lewis commenced
hoſtilities by the ſiege and capture of Rochelle.
The approach of a reinforcement from England,
compelled him to evacuate the town; and he con-
ſented to a ceſſation of arms during a period of four
years more; and joined the forces of the Cru-
ſaders againſt the Albigenſes, who were ſtill per-
ſecuted with unrelenting ſeverity. Simon de
Montfort, whoſe inhumanity was without exam-
ple, after having perſevered for ſeveral years and
with various ſucceſs, in that deteſtable warfare, was
at length ſlain whilſt employed in the ſiege of
Thouloufe; his death ſaved the city, and the
command of his army devolved to Aimery, his
ſon.

Aſſiſted by Lewis, he obtained by capitulation
the poſſeſſion of Marmand; notwithſtanding
which, and the oppoſition of the ſon of Philip,
the perfidious Aimery put all the inhabitants to
the ſword. The French Monarch, appriſed of

A. D. the contracted powers, and the little progreſs likely to be made by the arms of the Gallic Prince, directed him to withdraw his forces; and Raymond, the ſon of the Count of Thouloufe, with the ſupport and aſſiſtance of the Count de Foix, recovered by degrees a conſiderable portion of the conqueſts of Montfort. His ſucceſſor, incapable of oppoſing their ſucceſs, made an offer to the King of France of a ceſſion of his rights to thoſe territories, ſo cruelly wreſted from the legal poſſeſſor, and ſo profuſely beſtowed by the Pope to ſwell the ambition, or to ſatiate the barbarity of his father.

Honorius the Third, the ſucceſſor of Innocent, urged with warmth the acceptance of this offer, and held out a liberal promiſe of eccleſiaſtical indulgences, to encourage the French Monarch to utterly exterminate the heretics, as he thought proper to denominate them. The declining health of Philip prevented his taking a deciſive part in this nefarious enterpriſe; and a quartan ague, ſucceeded by an unremitting fever, put a period to his life and his ambition, in the town of Nante, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and in the forty-fourth of his reign. His remains were conveyed to, and depoſited, with great funeral pomp, in the cathedral church of Saint Denis, become for many years paſt the venerable receptacle of the bodies of the Kings of France.

1223. He was left by his firſt Queen, Iſabel of Hainault, an only ſon, Lewis, his ſucceſſor. Ingeburge was his ſecond conſort, whom he divorced, recalled,

recalled, and confined a ſecond time, for twelve A. D.
years, at Etampes, and finally brought back to Court, and who continued to live with him until his death. By Maria, or Agnes, from whom the Pope compelled him to ſeparate, he had Philip, Count of Boulogne; Maria, firſt married to the Count of Namur, and afterwards to the Duke of Brabant.

The life and reign of a Prince, the moſt active, the moſt ſucceſsful, and the moſt ſplendid ſince the time of Charlemagne, we ſhall endeavour to review with impartiality. The ſurnames of—The Gift of God—The Conqueror—The Magnanimous—The Auguſt, having been ſuperadded to his other nominal diſtinctions—prepare the mind for a relation of actions, correſpondent to theſe ſounding appellations; but whether the expectation has been gratified, or diſappointed, the reader muſt by this time have been able to determine.

The commencement of his political career was marked by a ſignal example of inhumanity and injuſtice; and the extortion that accompanied his edict againſt the Jews, was an unhappy prognoſtic of the moderation of his future government. The errors of mankind are rather entitled to pity than perſecution; and proſcribed as are theſe itinerant people, unprotected by the laws of the countries in which they would wiſh to reſide; driven forth from the confidence of men, without any permanent or local eſtabliſhment; they are uſurious,

A. D. not being allowed to enjoy the privileges attached to the community at large, as either the poſſeſſors of lands, or natural and incorporated citizens. Labouring under theſe diſqualifications of ſociety, they are obliged to accumulate a perſonal property, by which to purchaſe individual ſafety, and a temporary protection. Were they to be admitted, as equal claimants, into the great body of inheritance, and into a legal ſhare of juriſprudence, inſtead of ſtanding, as they now do, the objects of warning, and the victims of diſgrace, they might undoubtedly become more induſtrious, more uſeful, and more reſpectable.

In a very unfavourable light muſt be conſidered the inconſiſtencies of the conduct of Philip towards his ſecond queen, Ingeburge: her long confinement was an example of his tyranny, as her repeated recalls were inſtances of his weakneſs. His encouragement, or rather his ſupport of the unnatural warfare of the ſons of Henry, was a meaſure that could not be juſtified by any motives of policy or ambition; and the ſeizure of the territories of Richard, in defiance of the moſt ſolemn engagements, was as well a proof of his ambition as of his treachery.

Whether we conſider his conduct towards the Count of Flanders, his early governor, and to Raymond, Count of Thouloufe, allied to him by the affinity of blood; his ſanction of the cruel perſecution of the Albigenſes, in which he avowedly

edly encouraged his ſon to aſſiſt the barbarous Montfort, his hypocriſy towards the Holy See, reſpecting the acceptance of the Engliſh crown, a conduct which ſunk the magnanimous hero into a ſervile and a temporizing negociator, we may deduce that he was artful, rapacious, and unjuſt. A. D.

Proud and imperious, he diſdained to ſubmit to the reſtraints of reaſon; jealous of his natural rights, he was indifferent as to the means employed for the acquiſition of new ones; daring in forming, and prudent in the execution of his enterpriſes, we are the leſs ſurpriſed at their promptitude and ſucceſs.

If his reign were glorious, in having checked the dangerous growth of the power of the Plantagenets, and re-annexed to his crown the provinces of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, Auvergne, the Vermandois, Artois, and other ſubordinate diſtricts, his country was certainly indebted to his perſeverance and his valour for theſe uſeful and ſplendid acquiſitions.

Rich, vigilant, powerful, and victorious, the brilliancy of his actions threw a ſhade over his vices: the prerogatives of the crown, hitherto equivocal, became, under his government, more defined and fixed; and with a treaſure that prevented the requiſition of uncertain aid from his ſubjects, he was enabled to eſtabliſh a regular force, which gave a deciſive blow to the feudal rights; and his reign announced an approaching

A. D. revolution in the ſyſtem of the general government of his kingdom. He cruſhed the pride, he deſtroyed in a great meaſure the turbulent independency of his vaſſals; and however unwarrantable the means by which he effected his purpoſe, we muſt allow that it has been the prelude of a better juriſprudence, and the obvious dawn of conſiſtency, regularity, and order.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### REIGN OF LEWIS THE EIGHTH—THE LION.

The acceſſion of Lewis the Eighth—He is crowned, and anointed at Rheims, with Blanch, his Queen—Henry the Third of England demands the reſtitution of Normandy—Lewis commences hoſtilities, and takes Rochelle, with ſeveral other places—The next year he concludes a truce with Henry—A pretended Count of Flanders makes his appearance, and is received by the Flemings as their late Sovereign, the Emperor of Conſtantinople—He is put to death by order of the Regent, Jane—Aimery cedes the ſovereignty of his father's conqueſts to Lewis—The King of France takes the croſs againſt the Albigenſes—Beſieges, and reduces Avignon—His death and character.

1223. AT the demiſe of his father, Lewis the Eighth, ſurnamed the Lion, from his proweſs in arms, had attained the mature age of ſix-and-thirty years. Popular

Popular from his valour, and beloved for his liberality by an army devoted to his will; with an exchequer, amaſſed by his predeceſſor, that would have been ſufficient to carry into effect his moſt exalted views of ambition,—he aſcended the throne under circumſtances peculiarly favourable to the proſperity of his future government, had not the contracted ſpan allotted to his exertions, prevented him from availing himſelf of thoſe advantages. A. D.

Inveſted with the regalia, and anointed at Rheims, with Blanch his Queen, by the hands of Jionville, the prelate of that dioceſe, he was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the crown, than the Engliſh Monarch demanded of him a reſtitution of thoſe provinces that had been wreſted from the dominions of his father by Philip Auguſtus, and ſo ſolemnly pledged to be reſtored by his ſon. The motives that had induced Lewis to conſent to a promiſe ſo little conſonant to his intereſt, were now forgotten; and, with a force ready to ſecond his enterpriſes, he diſclaimed his intention of granting ſatisfaction to the ambaſſadors of Henry, and prepared to avail himſelf of his manifold advantages upon the expiration of the truce that was then ſubſiſting between the two nations.

The exhortations, as the menaces of the Pontiff, Honorius the Third, were ineffectual to divert or deter him from his projected plans. Having ſecured the neutrality of the Emperor, Frederick the Second, and the ſupport of the Count de la

A. D. Marche, who had eſpouſed the Queen Dowager of John, his early affianced bride, he entered into Poitou with a veteran and a formidable army. The oppoſition, and the gallant defence of Savery de Mauleon, the commander in chief of the Engliſh forces in that province, and eſteemed to be one of the moſt conſummate generals of the age, was not ſufficiently vigorous to ſtem the impetuoſity of his arms. Unſupported by the Engliſh Court, the intrepid Savery had the mortification to be obliged to ſubmit to the ſuperior fortune of the aſſailants, and to the diſgraceful capitulation of Rochelle. Indignant at the unworthy requital his ſervices had obtained, he renounced his allegiance to the young Henry; and his friendſhip was joyfully courted, and his alliance accepted, by the Gallic Monarch. All Poitou ſubmitted; and, at the cloſe of the campaign, there only remained to the crown of England, of their once extenſive poſſeſſions on the continent, the city of Bourdeaux, and the country beyond the Garonne.

1225. Early in the ſpring, the appearance of a naval force, under the command of Richard, the brother of Henry, re-animated the expiring hopes of the Poitevins, ever averſe to the yoke of France. Some places were recovered from the French; and thoſe who ſtill adhered to the intereſts of their ancient Sovereigns, were confirmed by theſe ſucceſſes in their duty and allegiance. Anxious to ſecond the wiſhes of the Pope in a farther perſecution of the

the unfortunate Albigenſes, Lewis conſented to a truce, which was to be obſerved for the ſpace of three years. A. D.

In the height of his preparations, the Flemings were agitated by a very extraordinary and unexpected occurrence. There ſuddenly ſtarted up an impoſtor, who called himſelf Baldwin, Count of Flanders, the Emperor of Conſtantinople, who, twenty years before, had been ſlain in an engagement with the Bulgarians. He gained ſo many adherents, and his identity was ſo willingly recognized by ſeveral old men, who remembered him before his departure for Syria, that he became at length almoſt generally acknowledged. Summoned by the King of France to ſubſtantiate his pretenſions at Peronne, whither he repaired without any ſymptoms of diſtruſt, his perſonification appeared to be ſo doubtful, that Lewis diſmiſſed him, with a ſafe-conduct, from his dominions; but falling into the hands of the emiſſaries of the Regent of Flanders, Jane, the conſort of the captive Ferdinand, and the daughter of the late Emperor, he was by her command tortured, and at length put to death; nor did ſhe eſcape the imputation of having deſtroyed one to whom ſhe had been indebted for her exiſtence.

The ſon of Montfort had relinquiſhed to Lewis the ſovereignty over a conſiderable portion of the conqueſts of his father, for the reverſionary dignity of Conſtable of France, then held by Montmorency;

A. D. rency; and whether his intereſt was not more the motive that prevailed in the mind of the Gallic King, when he aſſumed the croſs, than his affected piety, and obedience to the Holy See, may be fairly deduced from his ſubſequent conduct.

Romain, the Cardinal of Saint Angelo, was the deputed promoter of this impious undertaking. The example of the King induced a prodigious multitude to receive from the hands of the blood-thirſty prelate the badge of this nefarious warfare; and, with a large armament, Lewis proceeded into Languedoc, to effect the deſtruction of the young Count of Thouloufe,—a brave, an active, and an amiable Prince, nearly allied to him by conſanguinity, and whoſe only crime ſeems to have been, his not having ſacrificed his friends to the intemperate zeal of the Church of Rome; and having recovered from the uſurper Aimery, a conſiderable part of the dominions of his anceſtors.

1226. The firſt attack made by the cruſaders was upon Avignon, a city belonging to the Kings of Naples and Sicily, as the Sovereigns of Arles and Provence, doomed repeatedly to deſtruction by the ſucceſſors of Saint Peter, in conſequence of their protection of the Albigenſes. After a deſperate reſiſtance of ſome months, the French army was ſo much diminiſhed in numbers by famine, and a contagious diſtemper, that Lewis granted them what he had long refuſed, a capitulation; but the city was diſmantled, and plundered: the length of the

the ſiege prevented his making any attempt this campaign upon Thouloufe; but he had received the ſubmiſſion of ſeveral towns in its vicinity; and upon his retreat to Montpenſier, in Auvergne, he was overtaken by a mortal diſeaſe, which removed him from this ſcene of tumult and contention, in the fourth year of his reign, and in the forty-firſt of his age. His death has been otherwiſe repreſented by a cotemporary author, and is ſuppoſed to have happened ſome time before the ſurrender of Avignon, an event which was artfully concealed, and by a doſe of poiſon, adminiſtered by Thibauld the Fourth, Count of Champagne, violently enamoured of Blanch, his Queen. By that Princeſs he left five ſons and a daughter—Lewis, his ſucceſſor; Robert, upon whom he beſtowed Artois; John, who had Anjou and Maine; Alphonzo, Poitou and Auvergne; Charles, who had not any patrimony aſſigned him, being deſtined for the church; and Iſabel, the foundreſs of the monaſtery of Longchamp. A. D.

The reign of Lewis was ſo ſhort, that little is to be added, during that period, to the celebrity which his arms had before acquired. He was a warlike Prince, ambitious, reſtleſs, and unjuſt in his enterpriſes againſt the Count of Thouloufe and the Albigenſes, in which he ſhewed a willing as a criminal conformity to the wiſhes of the Pope; and a deſire to add to his own dominions, however unwarrantably obtained, the poſſeſſions of others.

A. D. others. With ſuch talents for war, and ſuch reſources, it is natural to think, that, had his life been extended, he would have entirely exterminated thoſe perſecuted people, and completely driven out the Engliſh from the kingdom of France.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### THE REIGN OF LEWIS THE NINTH, OR SAINT LEWIS.

Blanche, the Queen Mother, eſtabliſhes herſelf in the regency—The young King is crowned—The diſturbances of the diſaffected Nobles, which are happily appeaſed by the Regent—The continuation of the war againſt the Albigenſes, and the fate of the Count of Thouloufe—Lewis eſpouſes Margaret of Provence—Aſſumes the reigns of government—The tranquillity of the kingdom—The eſtabliſhment of the brothers of the King—New diſturbances—The Count de la Marche commences hoſtilities, and is aſſiſted by the Engliſh Monarch—Their ill ſucceſs—Two edicts of Lewis—He refuſes to ſanction the violence of the Pope—His proſperity—He takes the Croſs—The endeavours of the Gallic Monarch to reconcile the Pope and the Emperor—He obtains the heireſs of Provence for Charles, Count of Anjou—The ſettlement of his kingdom, and his departure from France—He arrives at Cyprus—The ſituation of the Eaſt—Lewis makes a deſcent upon the coaſt of Egypt—The firſt ſucceſs of his arms,

arms, and the melancholy termination of that expedition— He retires to Syria—The affairs of France—His return to that kingdom—His acception—His interview with the King of England—Regulations and alliances—He is appointed the arbitrator between Henry and his Barons—Permits his brother, the Count of Anjou, to accept of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, offered by the Pope—The ſucceſs of that Prince, and his inhumanity—Lewis again aſſumes the Croſs—His preparations, departure, and arrival at Cagliari; from whence he ſails for Tunis—Beſieges that city—The unfortunate iſſue of his ſecond expedition—His death and character. A. D.

THIS Prince was only twelve years of age upon the demiſe of his father, who, at the knowledge of his approaching diſſolution, in the preſence of three prelates, appointed to the regency of the kingdom, Blanch, his queen; a truſt, which her prudence and her firmneſs obtained, in deſpite of the violent oppoſition, and the various intrigues of thoſe who conſidered themſelve better entitled to the guidance of their young Sovereign than a woman, and a ſtranger. 1226—30

Her firſt care, as of the higheſt conſequence to her immediate intereſts and authority, was the obtainment of a general concurrence in the coronation of her ſon; and having appriſed of her intentions the principal nobles of the realm, they conceived that a minority afforded a favourable opportunity, by which they might recover from the crown thoſe privileges which they thought had been

A. D. been infringed by the two preceding Monarchs; and demanded, previouſly to their attendance for the purpoſe upon which they had been called together, that the eſtates, confiſcated in the laſt reigns, ſhould be reſtored; and that the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne, impriſoned ever ſince the memorable battle of Bouvines, ſhould be relieved from the miſeries of their long confinement. Unwilling to make any conceſſions, and directed by her own judgment, as well as by the advice of the Chancellor, Guerin, Biſhop of Senlis, and Romain, the legate from the Court of Rome, the Queen Mother haſtened, with Lewis, to Rheims, and although attended only by the great officers of the realm, and three or four of the Nobility, cauſed him to be anointed, and inveſted with the regalia by the Biſhop of Soiſſons, the above dioceſe being, at that time, vacant.

The confederated Lords had been induced to act as they had done, by a ſuppoſition that their preſence would have been abſolutely eſſential to the performance of the ceremony; but thenceforward they loſt the principal privilege which they had flattered themſelves had been attached to their dignity, reſpecting the election of a Sovereign, and which they had hitherto in appearance preſerved.

At the head of the malcontents, who aimed at wreſting from the Queen the direction of the young King, were—Philip, Count of Boulogne, the ſon of

of Philip Auguſtus; Peter of Dreux, a deſcendant of Lewis the Groſs, and Duke of Brittanny, by his marriage with the heireſs of that province; Thibauld, Count of Champagne—all Princes of the Blood; the Counts of Thoulouſe, Provence, de la Marche; and Jane, the Counteſs of Flanders: a combination of ſo formidable a nature and extent, as to threaten a ſubverſion of the authority of Blanch! A.D.

Undaunted by the numbers, as unſhaken by the power, of her enemies, the Regent knew how to unite with the penetration, the activity, and the firmneſs that diſtinguiſhed her government, the endearing charms of condeſcenſion and affability, in the diſtribution of her favours; and, by a conduct ſo reconcileable to all who approached her, diſcovered the happy art of being able to diſperſe this alarming confederacy. The influence ſhe retained over the affections of the Count of Champagne, ſhe knew how to turn to the beſt advantage; and prevented that Prince from purſuing any deciſive meaſures, when in alliance with thoſe who were the moſt obnoxious to her authority and government. The Count of Flanders ſhe releaſed from his tedious impriſonment, granting him ſuch liberal terms, as ſecured him ever afterwards in her intereſt; and by this politic meaſure, prevented his conſort, Jane, who had projected a diſſolution of her marriage, and an union with the Duke of Brittany, from giving her any farther annoyance;

and

A. D. and prevailed by pecuniary offers upon the miniſters upon Henry, of England, to forbear yielding any aſſiſtance to her diſaffected and revolted ſubjects.

The tranquillity which the endeavours of Blanche had by theſe means acquired, was but of ſhort duration. The confederacy, in appearance diſperſed, was ſtill impending; and a well-concerted plan to ſeize the perſon of the King, in his journey from Orleans to Paris, had flattered the malcontents with a favourable iſſue of their intrigues;—when, upon the timely notice given by the Count of Champagne, the young Monarch took refuge at Montheri, until the Regent was enabled, by the zeal of the inhabitants of the capital, to conduct him in ſafety to that city. The enſuing year Philip, Count of Boulogne, who had not hitherto openly oppoſed the meaſures of the Court, attached himſelf to the diſaffected party; and a ſecond attempt upon the perſon of Lewis was, in the ſame manner, again revealed by the inſidious Thibauld, imprudently entruſted by the confederates with all their plans.

The repeated proofs they had of the little dependence to be placed in his ſincerity, did not deter them from attempting, once more, to gain over ſo powerful an adherent; and the proffer of an union with Yolande, the daughter of the Duke of Brittany, flattered his ambition, and was willingly accepted by the treacherous ally. A ſcheme

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ſo favourable to their hopes, when nearly effected, A. D.
was however fruſtrated by the vigilance of the Queen-Mother; and the unſteady Count again withdrew himſelf from the party, which he had ſo recently engaged to ſupport.

This new inconſtancy of Thibauld arouſed the indignation, and turned the arms of the allied Nobles againſt the betrayer. They renewed the claims of the Queen of Cyprus, as the deſcendant of an elder brother, to the demeſnes then held by the Count of Champagne. The Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany began their devaſtations; the one in Champagne, the other in the territories of Brie: and the unfortunate object of their reſentment, unable to reſiſt a force ſo conſiderable, and ſo warmly united in his deſtruction, threw himſelf upon the protection of the King, who marched in perſon, with a conſiderable army, to his relief, and compelled his enemies to retire. The claimant to his territories conſented to forego all future conteſt, in conſideration of a pecuniary recompenſe advanced by Lewis: and Blanch obtained for the crown, as an indemnification for this aſſiſtance, the counties of Blois, Sancerre, Chartres, and Chateaudun; a meaſure that reflected little credit upon the diſintereſted motives by which the Queen and her ſon had been actuated.

The Count of Boulogne, who was himſelf ſuppoſed to have aimed at the regal dignity, was at length induced, by the inſinuations and

A. D. preſents of the Regent, to deſert the cauſe of the confederates: ſhe convinced him that he was not the object they had intended to raiſe to the throne, but Enquerrand de Courcy, to whom had been actually offered the crown, and who was allowed the merit of having rejected the ſplendid and dangerous elevation. The Count de la Marche, deluded likewiſe by the promiſed union of his daughter with Alonzo, the brother of the King, returned to his wonted duty and allegiance. The Duke of Brittany, abandoned by his two principal allies, unſupported by the expected aid of the Engliſh Monarch, whoſe miniſters, through the intrigues of Blanch, rendered every attempt he made to aſſiſt him abortive; and, having loſt Belleſme, a caſtle in the county of Perche, and ſome other places of importance, retired to England, to animate, by his preſence, his ally to a more deciſive ſupport.

The Count of Thoulouſe, upon the death of the late King, had embraced the favourable moment of recovering thoſe places that had ſubmitted to that Monarch during the ſiege of Avignon: his ſucceſs awakened the zeal of the emiſſaries of the Court of Rome, and the infatuated clergy throughout the province of Languedoc. The Queen, induced by the exhortations of the Legate, her principal adviſer, and, as was ſuſpected, the favoured rival of the Count of Champagne, and whoſe authority had obtained her an immenſe ſubſidy

ſidy from the church,—diſpatched to Imbert of Beaujeu, the governor of that province, a reinforcement of troops; and the cruel and ſanguinary war recommenced with its accuſtomed violence. The mercileſs deſtroyer, with the Archbiſhops of Auſch and Bourdeaux, indiſcriminately put to death every Albigenſis who had the misfortune to fall into their hands; tore up the fruits of the earth; overturned every habitation that oppoſed the progreſs of their fury; and carried their deſtructive deſolation to ſuch a height of frenzy, that Raymond, having demanded a truce, conſented, upon a promiſe of perſonal ſafety, to hold a conference with the Queen-Mother at Meaux,—where, in direct violation of every principle of honour and of faith, he found himſelf a priſoner; and only obtained his liberty upon terms that reflected eternal diſgrace upon the contrivers of this inſidious interview. A. D.

Having ſuffered every inſult that the moſt humiliating penance could enjoin, he was obliged to pay an exorbitant ſum for the propagation of the Catholic religion; to withdraw his protection from the heretics; undertake for five years to head the cruſaders againſt them; to demoliſh the principal fortifications in his dominions;—and, among other articles of this diſgraceful treaty, he was to deliver up Jane, his only daughter, and the heireſs of his poſſeſſions, to be educated at the Court of France, to be married to Alonzo, the brother of the King;

A. D. and at their deaths, ſhould they not leave any iſſue, thoſe demeſnes were to be annexed in perpetuity to the Gallic crown. After this humiliation, and one more cruel and unjuſt, it is impoſſible to conceive, we are told by the French hiſtorians that the Count received the honour of knighthood from the hands of his Sovereign, and retired to Languedoc, loaded with honours, and diſtinguiſhed by the bounty of his Prince! He left the territories of Lewis, it is true; but the Papal and French Courts allowed him not a moment's enjoyment of tranquillity, during the many years he ſurvived his diſgrace.

It was at the concluſion of this unwarrantable perſecution, that a council of the prelates, aſſembled at Thouloufe, confirmed the tribunal of the Inquiſition, originating in the commencement of that cruel war; appointing in every diſtrict a prieſt, with neceſſary powers and aſſiſtance, to ſearch for thoſe unfortunate people whoſe religious tenets were not conformable to their own; and confiſcating the lands of ſuch as afforded them protection. At no time was the church of Rome more arbitrary and more powerful than at this period; nor was Lewis at all backward in iſſuing ordonnances to the ſame effect throughout thoſe territories dependent upon his authority.

1230—4 The Duke of Brittany, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of his former undertakings, ſtill perſiſted in his intrigues: relying upon the promiſed ſupport

port of the weak and inconſtant Henry, he renounced his allegiance to the Gallic Monarch, and acknowledged the King of England as his Sovereign. Upon the arrival of that Prince, with a conſiderable reinforcement, his new vaſſal delivered to him Nantes, with the principal cities in his poſſeſſion; but while he was indolently employed in feaſts and entertainments, his young rival had advanced to the frontiers of Brittany, and had captured ſeveral fortreſſes in that province. No deciſive meaſures ſeem however to have been purſued by the victorious army; and, in the enſuing year, a truce of three years was conſented to by both the Monarchs, in which the Duke of Brittany was included. A. D.

Theſe troubles appeaſed,—the ſhort interval of leiſure that intervened, Blanch employed in negociating a marriage ſuitable to the dignity of her ſon, with Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of Raymond-Berenger, Count of Provence, a branch of the royal line of Arragon; and upon the expiration of the truce, repeatedly violated by the Duke of Brittany, Lewis advanced with ſo conſiderable a force into the demeſnes of that reſtleſs Prince, that he was compelled to ſue for peace, and to ſubmit to the moſt rigorous terms, impoſed by the reſentment of the victor. 1234—6.

The young Monarch having attained the age of twenty-one, the Queen Dowager, without retaining the appellation of Regent, continued to enjoy 1236—41

A. D. the ſame unlimited authority in the cabinet of her ſon; and the moſt perfect cordiality appeared to ſubſiſt in the union of their councils. The principal object of Blanch, and to which Lewis ſo willingly accorded, ſeems to have been the humiliation of the principal Nobility of the kingdom; an object which her firmneſs and perſeverance ultimately effected. She politically balanced the influence of one powerful vaſſal againſt that of another; fomented the jealouſies that aroſe among them; and carefully prevented their making any matrimonial alliances that were likely to affect the intereſts of the crown. Thus checked in that ſpirit of independence they had ſo undoubtedly enjoyed until the three laſt reigns, they ſought to indulge their natural propenſity to war in other regions. The Count of Champagne, who had ſucceeded to the kingdom of Navarre, in right of his mother, induced by the acceſſion of power which the regal title conferred, had ineffectually attempted to recover by arms, thoſe territories which he had been compelled to relinquiſh, in his negociation with the Queen of Cyprus; and his recent diſappointment haſtened his departure for the Holy Land. He was followed by the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, Aimery de Montfort, the Conſtable, and many of the principal Nobility of France, from whoſe abſence the kingdom enjoyed an interval of tranquillity that required but little of that accuſtomed vigilance which had marked the regency

of

of Blanch. It was about this time that the life of Lewis was threatened by the emiſſaries of the Mahometan Prince of the Aſſaſſins: they were diſcovered, and ſent back in ſafety by the King. I gave, however, occaſion to a renewal of the perſonal guard, inſtituted under the reign of Philip Auguſtus. A. D.

The return of the Nobles from Syria, once more threatened to diſturb with inteſtine diviſions the quiet of the dominions of Lewis. The advantageous matrimonial alliances, and the eſtabliſhment of his brothers in thoſe territories aſſigned them by their father, which conſiderably extended the influence of the crown, appear to have been the ſecret motives by which they were actuated to excite new diſturbances. Robert, the ſecond ſon of Lewis, the late Monarch, had been recently offered the Imperial crown by Gregory the Ninth. That Pontiff, purſuing the maxims of his predeceſſors, had preſumed, in his diſputes with the Emperor, Frederick the Second, to excommunicate and depoſe that Prince; and flattered himſelf with the hope of obtaining ſupport and aſſiſtance from the Gallic King, by the ſplendid offer of the vacant crown: but Lewis was not to be dazzled by the inſidious preſent, and refuſed to arm againſt a Sovereign who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the defence of the Catholic faith, and who had carried his victorious arms into Paleſtine. Rejecting the proffered dignity, he was occupied in a more 1241—5.

A. D. certain as a more honourable eſtabliſhment for his brother, whom he inveſted with the county of Artois, and united to Matilda, the ſiſter of the Duke of Brabant: an event ſhortly followed by a like ceremony with Alonzo, the third ſon of Lewis the Eighth, with Jane, the heireſs of the Count of Thouloufe, and the inveſtiture of the territories dependent upon Poitou and Auvergne.

Among thoſe Lords whoſe lands were ſituated in theſe particular diſtricts, Hugh Count de la Marche had, with others, willingly taken the accuſtomed oaths of fealty, and performed his homage, as a vaſſal to the young Count of Poitou; but his conſort, Iſabel, Queen Dowager of England, reproaching him with his abject condeſcenſion, excited him to take up arms againſt his Sovereign. The King, at that time in the city of Poitou, ſlenderly attended, and informed of the unexpected approach of the forces of his enemies, was compelled to diſſemble; and, by a private negociation with the unwary Hugh and Iſabel, was permitted to retire without moleſtation to his capital. The dependence of the Count, in his rupture with Lewis, was placed upon the ſupport of his ſon-in-law, the Engliſh Monarch, as well as upon the promiſed alliance of the King of Arragon, the Duke of Brittany, the Count of Provence, and the unfortunate and inſulted Count of Thouloufe.

Lewis

Lewis, having aſſembled his army, advanced into Poitou: Montreuil, with the caſtle of Beruge, an important fortreſs, and ſome other places, ſubmitted to his arms, before the malcontents could be aſſiſted by auxiliaries from England, or were themſelves in a condition to oppoſe the rapidity of his incurſions. A. D.

It was in vain that Iſabel, enraged at his ſucceſs, alternately attempted the deſtruction of her opponent by the dagger and the bowl: eſcaping her intended vengeance, his progreſs continued to be marked by ſucceſſive conqueſts. The deſtruction of Fontenoy, levelled with the ground, with that of ſeveral towns in its vicinity, operated as a melancholy warning to ſuch as ſhould venture to reſiſt his arms; and with the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the principal fortreſſes in his route, he arrived the unoppoſed victor at Taillebourg upon the Charent, in the province of Saintonge.

The King of England, ſtrongly oppoſed by his parliament, with whom, during his long reign, he was ever at variance, obſtinately perſiſted in his determination to afford aſſiſtance to the confederated Lords; and, with a reſpectable armament, embarked for Rochelle, and formed a junction with the Count de la Marche. Unſucceſsful in every attempt againſt the ſuperior abilities of his rival, he refuſed the equitable terms of peace that were offered by Lewis. Worſted at Taillebourg, compelled to retreat with diſgrace to Xainte, defeated

A. D. defeated again at that place, and deceived by his allies, he was obliged to retire into Gaſcony, with the loſs of the remaining territories he had held in Poitou.

Diſappointed in the advantages which he had expected would ariſe from the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh Monarch, the reluctant Hugh ſubmitted to the clemency of his Sovereign. Preſenting himſelf with his wife and children to the mercy of the King, he for ever renounced all claim, in favour of the Count of Poitiers, to the conqueſts that had been made by Lewis; delivered two of his ſons, as hoſtages; and conſented to accompany him in his expedition againſt the Count of Thouloufe, who, faithful to his engagements, and anxious to recover his independency, with thoſe territories that had been ſo unjuſtly torne from his poſſeſſion, had commenced hoſtilities. Abandoned by the Count of Foix, and by the Nobles of Languedoc, he was obliged to forego his hopes, to bend to the ſuperior force of his opponent, and to confirm the treaty to which he had before ſubſcribed at Paris.

The Engliſh Monarch, reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs at Bourdeaux, by the treachery of the Gaſcons, and a contagious diſorder that ſwept off a conſiderable part of his army, had recourſe to the moderation of Lewis, to ſuffer him to depart in ſafety from Calais, not daring to truſt to any other port; ſo hoſtile were even thoſe who had called upon him for his aſſiſtance.

Availing

Availing himſelf of the leiſure which this period A. D.
of tranquillity afforded, Lewis turned his thoughts to the adoption of certain regulations for the eaſe and welfare of his government, more particularly in deviſing ſuch meaſures as might tend to prolong the peace which his kingdom at that time enjoyed. The union of the daughters of his Nobility with foreigners; and the double homage paid by his ſubjects to the crowns of France and England, by ſuch as held lands in fealty to both; were productive of the worſt conſequences, by frequently involving the French Monarch in foreign and deſtructive warfare. Two edicts, promulgated by his order, in ſome meaſure remedied the evil; one forbidding any ſubject to beſtow his daughter upon an alien without the expreſs conſent of the King; the other obliged the vaſſal to make his choice of the Sovereign to whom he would render homage. If to the Engliſh, the fiefs he held in France devolved to the French King; if to the latter, his poſſeſſions in England were forfeited to Henry.

Lewis prudently declined any interference in the diſputes between the Pope and the Emperor, which ſtill continued to agitate their reſpective dominions. He refuſed to ſuffer the Pontiff, Innocent the Fourth, to ſeek an aſylum within his territories, from the reſentment of Frederic; nor would he attend the council convened at Lyons by the Holy Father; a city not then appertaining to France,

but

A. D. but belonging to a temporal prince, who held it in fealty to the Empire.

1245—8 The reign of the Gallic Monarch had been hitherto proſperous and happy, as well for his country, as for his individual intereſt: his military character eſtabliſhed, the demeſnes of the crown conſiderably enlarged, as well by forfeited lands, as by pecuniary acquiſitions; an ample exchequer, the reſult of an œconomical and prudent arrangement of his finances; beloved and feared at home; reſpected by foreign powers, he found himſelf, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, the moſt dignified, as the moſt opulent Prince in Europe. But this favourable ſcene was not long to continue—the enthuſiaſtic veneration that had been early inſtilled into his mind, of the ſuperiority of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, which led him to conſider all ſuch, whoſe faith was not ſtrictly conformable to thoſe tenets, deſerving of every puniſhment, in its nature however ſevere, laid the foundation of a numerous train of evils. His religious fervor, warping the natural benevolence, precluded the more temperate affections of his heart; and gradually becoming the only inſtinct in his breaſt, induced him to conſider the extermination of the Infidels as the moſt meritorious ſervice he could perform to obtain the divine grace. A fit of ſickneſs conſpired to ſtrengthen him in this fatal error. In the paroxyſms of his diſorder, his heated imagination conceived the idea, that a voice

voice from Heaven had commanded him to aſſume A. D.
the croſs: with the recovery of his health, the vapours which had floated in his diſtempered brain, left an indelible impreſſion upon his mind; and the firſt words he ſpoke, after having remained in a ſtate of inſenſibility, devoid of motion and of ſpeech, for the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, announced his intended purpoſe.

The unbounded joy his happy reſtoration diffuſed throughout the kingdom, was ſoon converted into melancholy regret. The ill ſucceſs of former expeditions was not yet forgotten: in vain were the ſupplications of his mother and his queen interpoſed to divert him from his infatuated purpoſe: the remonſtrances, and the exhortations of the Archbiſhop of Paris, were alike ineffectual; his vow was made, and his conſcience at ſtake, a pledge too ſacred to be diſſolved by worldly conſiderations! However determined he might be to obey this imaginary inſpiration, he did not appear to be in any immediate hurry to depart; and conſumed three years in preparation for his intended expedition.

Unwilling to ſanction the violence of Innocent, by a perſonal attendance at the council, then in deliberation at Lyons, and in which the Gallican clergy had almoſt reduced themſelves to poverty, by their profuſe bounty to the Holy Father, he ſent his ambaſſador. Upon the refuſal of the Emperor to appear and anſwer to the charges that were

A. D. were exhibited againſt him; the fugitive Pontiff had the audacity to excommunicate, pronounce him attainted, convicted of ſacrilege and hereſy, incapable of retaining the Imperial ſceptre; commanded the German Princes to proceed to a new election; and ſent his emiſſaries to preach a cruſade throughout Europe againſt that Monarch. From this arbitrary ſtretch of power he turned the attention of his auditory to a conſideration of the diſtreſsful ſituation of the Eaſt, and exhorted the aſſembly to recommend and undertake a new armament for the recovery of the Holy Land. The Emperor condeſcended, notwithſtanding theſe violent proceedings, to enter into a negociation with the haughty Pontiff, through the mediation of the Gallic Monarch, to whoſe moderation and temper he cheerfully ſubmitted to entruſt his cauſe. Lewis accepted the honourable office, and held a conference with Innocent at the abbey of Cluny; but could not induce the inflexible prelate to liſten to the reaſonable tenor of his arguments. More ſucceſsful a negociator for his third brother, the Count of Anjou, he diſplayed his talents and addreſs, in procuring for him Beatrix, the youngeſt daughter of the Count of Provence, who, before his death, had appointed her the heireſs of his dominions. The affianced bride of Raymond, Count of Thouloufe, he was warmly oppoſed by that Prince, as well as by Henry, King of England, and Richard, his brother, both of whom had married

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ſiſters of Beatrix. The abilities of Lewis overcame the ſecret endeavours of his opponents; and the young Count had the ſatisfaction to annex to his poſſeſſions of Anjou and Maine, the territories of his conſort, which had been wreſted from the crown more than three centuries. The unfortunate Count of Thouloufe died ſoon after, a victim, to his ill ſucceſs and his misfortunes; and Alonſo, the brother of Lewis, was eſtabliſhed in right of Jane, the daughter of Raymond, in the ſovereignty of his demeſnes. A. D.

Still bent upon his eaſtern expedition, the Gallic Monarch, with the concurrence of the Pope, aſſeſſed a tenth of the lands of the church, to aſſiſt in his preparations for this diſtant warfare; but when Innocent endeavoured to raiſe a ſmall contribution upon his own authority, to proſecute with effect his altercation with the Emperor, the politic King, however obedient to the ſpiritual character of the ſucceſſor of Saint Peter, made a wide difference between his religious and his temporal concerns; he oppoſed the encroaching power of the Holy Father; and, by his intervention, the more readily induced the clergy to acquieſce in the tax which he had himſelf impoſed.

Having at length prevailed upon the Nobles of the kingdom to conſent to his departure, a meaſure which at firſt met with ſome oppoſition, he endeavoured, by every precaution that his policy and wiſdom could dictate, to leave his affairs in a ſituation

A.D. ſituation the moſt likely to ſecure the internal tranquillity of his dominions. He ſettled the diſputes in Flanders, relative to the children of Margaret, the ſiſter and heireſs of Jane, the late Counteſs; eſtabliſhed the friendſhip of the Emperor, Frederic, by the firmneſs with which he had reſiſted the ſolicitations of Innocent to join with him againſt that Prince; and procured from him an order to all his governors and officers to ſupply his army with every neceſſary and convenience that could be obtained by their vigilance and authority. He renewed the truce with Henry, and had ſo many ſcruples relative to the provinces wreſted from the Engliſh crown, by Philip Auguſtus, that it was with difficulty he was withheld by Blanch and his miniſters from reſtoring them to the King of England.

Every regulation that he made evinced the ſoundneſs of his judgment, and the integrity of his heart. He appointed the Queen Dowager to the regency of the kingdom, whoſe able and proſperous adminiſtration for ſo many years, rendered her worthy of the important truſt. He prevailed upon thoſe Nobles, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected, or whoſe turbulent diſpoſitions he conceived might counteract her authority, to repair to his ſtandard; a meaſure that required conſummate prudence and addreſs to compaſs, and by which he enſured the tranquillity of her government. He was not leſs provident for the ſucceſs of his arms, than he had been careful

ful to preſerve the internal peace of his dominions. A. D.
He eſtabliſhed magazines of corn and ammunition in the iſland of Cyprus, in which then reigned Henry of Luſignan; and appointed the general rendezvous to take place at Aigue-Morte, a ſmall port upon the ſhores of the Mediterranean, which he endeavoured to render a harbour worthy of receiving his prodigious armament.

Auguſt 27, 1248. Never had a more regular, a better provided, and a better diſciplined army left Europe, than the one now prepared by Lewis for this Eaſtern expedition. Beſides his Queen, who, it is probable, was not leſs induced to participate in his fortune, from the regard ſhe bore his perſon, than from the deſire of quitting an imperious ſtepmother, whoſe uncontrouled ambition diſdained a rival, alike in the affections, as in the cabinet of her ſon; the royal example was followed by his brothers, the Counts of Artois and Anjou; the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; the Counts of Flanders, de la Marche, and the moſt illuſtrious of the Nobility; the Archbiſhops of Rheims and Bauges; almoſt all the Knights of France; and Joinville, the hiſtorian of his time, and the favourite of his Sovereign. At Lyons he received the benediction of the Pope; and proceeding to Aigue-Morte, embarked his numerous forces, in eighteen hundred ſail, from whence, after a favourable and ſpeedy voyage, he arrived the enſuing month at Cyprus, where, as the autumn

A. D. was advancing, it was judged expedient to wait until the enſuing ſpring.

We have ſeen how fruitleſs were the conqueſts made by Philip Auguſtus, and Richard Cœur-de-Lion, in Paleſtine. Upon the death of Saladin, the German Princes, induced by the civil wars that enſued, had flattered themſelves, that by a new expedition they ſhould profit from the troubles and confuſion of that country. Sephadin, King of Egypt, the ſucceſſor of that victorious leader, retook ſome of the few places the Chriſtians ſtill retained in Syria; and the prodigious armament that had been led againſt him, became as fruitleſs as the former ones had been unfortunate. The death of the Emperor obliged the Princes of Germany to return; and the diviſions among the Mahometan Sovereigns prevented them from purſuing deciſive meaſures, to effect the total deſtruction of the Chriſtian power in the Eaſt.

Several armaments followed, which, equally unſucceſsful, helped to drain Europe of her youth, without procuring as a recompenſe any ſolid advantage. In one of theſe expeditions, conducted by John of Brienne, titular king of Jeruſalem, Damietta was captured by the cruſaders, after a ſiege of eighteen months; but Meledin, the ſon of Sephadin, taking advantage of the ſeaſon in which the Nile overflows its banks, opened the ſluices, flooded the camp of the enemy, compelled them to abandon their conqueſts, and to conſent to an ignomi-

ignominious truce for eight years. The Emperor, A. D.
Frederick the Second, aſſuming, upon his marriage with the daughter of John of Brienne, the ſovereign title of King of Jeruſalem, embarked for the Holy Land; and, leſs by force than negociation, ſucceeded better than any leader that had gone before him. He concluded a treaty with the Soldan of Egypt, then embarraſſed by other wars, by which, in recompenſe for a ceſſation of hoſtilities for ten years, Jeruſalem, and its territories, as far as Joppa, with ſome other appendant diſtricts, were ceded to his government and authority.

About that period, the Saracen Princes had a more formidable enemy to encounter than even the frantic zeal of the Chriſtians. The Moguls, or Eaſtern Tartars, emerging from the ſame inhoſpitable deſarts that had produced the Scythians, the Huns, and the Turks, had, under their leader, Genghis Khan, the ſovereign of a contracted territory, in the courſe of a few years, made a conqueſt of Perſia, extended their victorious arms as far as the Euphrates, Indoſtan, a great part of China, and all Tartary. The Koraſmins, a Mahometan nation, expelled from their country by the inundation of the Tartars, and flying before them, over-ran Syria and Paleſtine, captured the holy city, put indiſcriminately to the ſword thoſe of their own faith, as well as Chriſtians, the armed and the unarmed, the aged and the infirm. De-

A. D. feated at length, they were diſperſed by Malec al Salehi, the Soldan of Egypt, who recovered what they had taken from the followers of the Croſs.

Such was the ſituation of that part of the world at the expedition of Lewis;—the Chriſtians only retaining the four principalities of Acre, Tripoli, Tyre, and Antioch, ſurrounded on all ſides by the hoſtile arms of the Mahometans, and in daily expectation of being finally driven out of their contracted poſſeſſions.

1249. At Cyprus, where the French Monarch loſt a melancholy proportion of his troops, and of his moſt able officers, from the malignity of the air, and the inſalubrity of the water, it was agreed that the enterpriſe ſhould commence by a deſcent upon Egypt, as it appeared, from fatal experience, that Paleſtine could never be preſerved, while that fertile country remained in the hands of the Infidels. Having received conſiderable reinforcements during his detention at that iſland, particularly of French and Engliſh troops, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, and of William Longſword, Earl of Saliſbury, Lewis embarked for Damietta, the place of his deſtination. The city, although of great extent, rich, and well fortified, was unexpectedly abandoned, and without reſiſtance, to the invaders. Elated by a ſucceſs ſo unexpected, and acquired without the effuſion of blood, the cruſaders, inſtead of purſuing the advantage they had obtained, before the conſterna-

tion

tion they had inſpired had ſubſided, refuſed to depart from their new conqueſts, until the ſwelling of the Nile prevented them from proceeding to Cairo. This inaction produced the moſt pernicious conſequences: diſſatisfied at the partition of booty, which fell much beneath the avidity of their wiſhes, Lewis had the mortification to find daily proofs of the little attention paid to his commands. His forces, compoſed of various nations, with volunteers of the firſt rank, from every country in Europe, and unaccuſtomed to be confined to that ſort of diſcipline ſo neceſſary in the hoſtile territories of an enemy, abandoned themſelves, in deſpite of his oppoſition, to the comforts of repoſe. The natural and the artificial abundance of the fertile ſpot upon which they had ſeized, introduced voluptuous and diſſolute manners. The Nobles laviſhed their means in riot and exceſs; the ſoldiers, without reſtraint, were affected with the ſame contagion, and gave into the imprudent follies of their ſuperiors. Neither the regular and uniform deportment of the King, nor yet his exhortations or remonſtrances, could diſcourage or repreſs the continuance of the diſorders. A. D.

Thus inefficiently as indolently paſſed the ſummer: upon a reſumption of their arms, an embaſſy from Malec al Salehi to reſtore Jeruſalem, with all the poſſeſſions which had been held by the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, was indignantly rejected. The cruſaders, bent upon conqueſts, were determined

A. D. mined not to enter into any terms of accommodation; and, joined by the Count of Poitiers, with a conſiderable reinforcement, they took the route of Cairo, leaving a ſufficient force to protect the Queen, and the conſorts of the Princes; with their new acquiſition, which Lewis had carefully ſtrengthened by additional fortifications.

Unprovided with any conveyance to enable them to paſs a canal of the Nile, which impeded their progreſs, they prepared to run a cauſeway acroſs the channel of the ſtream. Arreſted in their laborious and ineffectual attempt, which had conſumed ſome months, by a diſcovery, imparted to them by a Bedouin Arab, of a fording place; the Count of Artois, hot, impatient, and ambitious of fame, with two thouſand horſe, detached himſelf from the main army, diſperſed the flying ſquadrons of the enemy, and, elevated by his ſucceſs, advanced with rapidity to Maſſoura, and entering indiſcriminately with the fugitives, imprudently commenced a plunder of the city. The inhabitants, obſerving the ſmallneſs of their numbers, were induced to barricade their houſes, and exert themſelves in their defence. The Infidels, who had fled before the impetuous valour of the brother of the Gallic King, re-aſſembled their ſcattered forces, and inveſted the aſſailants in the the town. Surrounded on every ſide, the Chriſtians, after a deſperate oppoſition, were, with their imprudent leader, and ſeveral other gallant officers, entirely

entirely cut to pieces. Meanwhile Lewis, with the army, having with difficulty and danger paſſed the ſtream, found themſelves oppoſed by a formidable hoſt of the Mahometans, over whom they obtained ſome trifling advantages, ill recompenſed for the number of their ſlain; and perceiving it impoſſible at that juncture to proceed, encamped themſelves between the cities of Damietta and Maſſoura. A. D.

The arrival of the young Soldan, Al Moadhemi, the ſon and ſucceſſor of the departed Malec al Salehi, with a numerous force, deſtroyed the remaining reſources of the Chriſtians. Blocked up in their camp by the immenſe army of the Infidels, their communication with the ſea was cut off; diſorder prevailed in the camp; confuſion pervaded their councils; the dead were left uninterred; the air was infected by contagious exhalations; peſtilence, famine, and death, the concomitant evils of imprudent and unſucceſsful warfare, continued to ravage and devaſt the deſponding army of the cruſaders. 1250.

Deeply afflicted by the mortality of his troops, and debilitated by the miſeries of diſeaſe, Lewis made a tender of peace to the more fortunate Soldan: the treaty was ſomewhat advanced, when he had the mortification to find, that the ſurrender of his perſon could only confirm the ſucceſs of the negociation; a meaſure to which he expreſſed an anxious deſire to accede, provided it could inſure

A. D. the ſafety of his people. His followers rejected with indignation theſe ignominious terms, and unanimouſly determined upon a retreat to Damietta. Haraſſed in their long and perilous march by the flying ſquadrons of the enemy, and after a prodigious decreaſe of their forces, the Gallic Monarch, his brothers, with the miſerable remains of the once victorious army, were compelled to ſurrender themſelves to the diſcretion of the Mahometans.

Another portion of the Chriſtian forces, not leſs unfortunate, conſiſting of the ſick and wounded, which had been embarked upon the Nile, in the hope of reaching in ſafety the mouth of the river, unfortunately fell into their hands, excepting the veſſel in which was the Pope's Legate, and a few others that eſcaped the mercileſs rage of the victors, who ſet not any bounds to their exultation and ferocity. They maſſacred ſome, they tortured others, and, finally ſatiated with their inhuman carnage, only gave quarter to thoſe whoſe ſplendid armour inſpired them with the hope of a valuable ranſom. Lewis, confined in his priſon, denied any communication with his officers, inſulted, and threatened with fetters, and the extremities of torture, preſerved the ſame manly fortitude, the ſame tranquil deportment, that had marked his character in the more fortunate ſcenes of life, and obtained the admiration of even the barbarians themſelves.

The

The perſevering firmneſs of the King, the re- A. D.
collection that Damietta was well fortified, ſup-
plied with military ſtores and proviſions, and the deſire to augment his authority by the acquirement of that city, at length induced the Soldan to conſent, that, in conſideration of a ceſſation of hoſtilities for ten years, with the reſtoration of all his Mahometans in the hands of their enemies, whether in Egypt, Syria, or Paleſtine,—the reſtitution of Damietta, and the payment of a million pieces of gold,—Lewis and his followers ſhould be ſuffered to depart in ſafety; and engaged that thoſe who were incapable, from debility, to accompany him, ſhould remain in ſecurity until they could leave the country.

The treaty was advanced, and the releaſe of the Chriſtians nearly accompliſhed, when the aſſaſſination of the Soldan occaſioned a delay in its execution, and nearly involved them in the fate of that Prince. After various delays, threats, and inſults, in which the magnanimity and patience of the ſuffering Monarch never a moment forſook him;—the new Sovereign of Egypt, whom the Mamlucs had elevated to that dignity, conſented to ratify the former agreement. A conſiderable proportion of the ranſom having been paid, Lewis was informed that they had ſuffered themſelves to to be deceived in the weight of the ſpecie they had received: the conſcientious King, not without a riſk of future ſafety, in conſequence of the ſuſ-

penſion

A. D. penſion of his departure, inſiſted that the deficient ſum ſhould be punctually remitted. This ſignal act of honour and juſtice was but ill requited by the Barbarians! Being joined by the Queen, and the garriſon of Damietta, he delivered to the Infidel deputies the keys of the city, into which the Mahometans had no ſooner entered, than they wantonly put to the ſword all thoſe whoſe infirm and exhauſted ſtate had prevented their retiring to their Sovereign; and deliberated whether they ſhould not ſacrifice, in deſpite of the treaty, the Gallic Monarch, and the remains of his broken army, to their reſentments. The blow that humanity would not have been able to arreſt, was averted by avarice; and they were allowed to embark, without further moleſtation, for the Syrian coaſt.

Notwithſtanding the melancholy termination of this fatal enterpriſe, the romantic enthuſiaſm of Lewis had not ſubſided, and he remained inflexibly determined to continue in Paleſtine. However they might lament his obſtinate perſeverance, a reſpectable, although but a ſmall proportion of his followers, reſolved not to abandom him in his misfortunes. His brothers were among thoſe who returned to France: upon their arrival they found the kingdom in conſternation and deſpair, from the unexpected captivity of their Sovereign; an affliction the more ſeverely felt, as they had been previouſly elated at the flattering accounts of his proweſs and ſucceſs; at the ſame time that the confu-

confuſion was augmented, in conſequence of a A. D.
ſedition of the peaſants!

Inſtigated by the extravagant phrenzy of a Ciſtercian Monk, who pretended that a divine commiſſion enjoined him to preach a new cruſade, for the delivery of Lewis; the lower claſſes of the people collected in prodigious crowds, from every quarter of the kingdom. The Queen Dowager encouraged this intemperate zeal—when the rapid encreaſe of their numbers, the exceſſes, and the cruelties they committed, at length called upon her exertions to redreſs a grievance ſhe had ſo unadviſedly ſanctioned. Excited by their devaſtations, the nobility, and the inhabitants of the towns, aſſembled in arms, to put a ſtop to their deſtructive ravages; and they were finally ſuppreſſed, after the ſlaughter of many thouſands, with their fanatic leader, between Mortimer and Villeneuve, upon the river Char.

The captivity of her ſon, theſe recent diſorders, 1252.
and the remorſe occaſioned by her having conſigned to death two perſons, who firſt announced the melancholy fate of Lewis at Damietta, threw the mind of Blanch into a ſtate of deſpondency, which ſhe never recovered. Retiring to a monaſtery of her own foundation, ſhe aſſumed the habit of the order, and died ſhortly afterwards, leſs beloved than ſhe had been reſpected;—an ambitious, capricious, and a politic Princeſs, with talents that enabled her to obtain and to preſerve a

deciſive

A. D. deciſive influence in the adminiſtration of the kingdom, which ſhe retained without controul or diminution, from the death of Lewis the Eighth, until the moment of her own demiſe.

Lewis, without purſuing with effect any ſolid eſtabliſhment, continued four years in Paleſtine: his alliance was however ſought for by the Mahometan Princes, in their various diſputes with each other; and the Soldan of Egypt, who had treacherouſly maſſacred and mutilated the Chriſtians that had been left in his dominions, after the departure of the King, ſtrange as it may appear, ſucceeded in his endeavours to obtain the ſupport of that Monarch, againſt the Sovereign of Damaſcus, upon a promiſe of reſtoring to the cruſaders the poſſeſſion of the city of Jeruſalem. The oppoſing Princes accommodated their real or pretended miſunderſtandings, and left the King to lament his credulity, and to employ his time in a diſplay of religious proceſſions, in the celebration of the divine offices of the church, and in laviſhing the ſums remitted to him by the generoſity of his ſubjects in uſeleſs fortifications, and in ſenſeleſs endowments. What a perverſion of the inherent faculties which nature had beſtowed upon him, that he ſhould thus ſuffer religious enthuſiaſm to obſcure his reaſon, and to vitiate a mind which, had it been ſolely directed to the happy and efficient government of his kingdom, would have rendered his actions enviable, and his name immortal!

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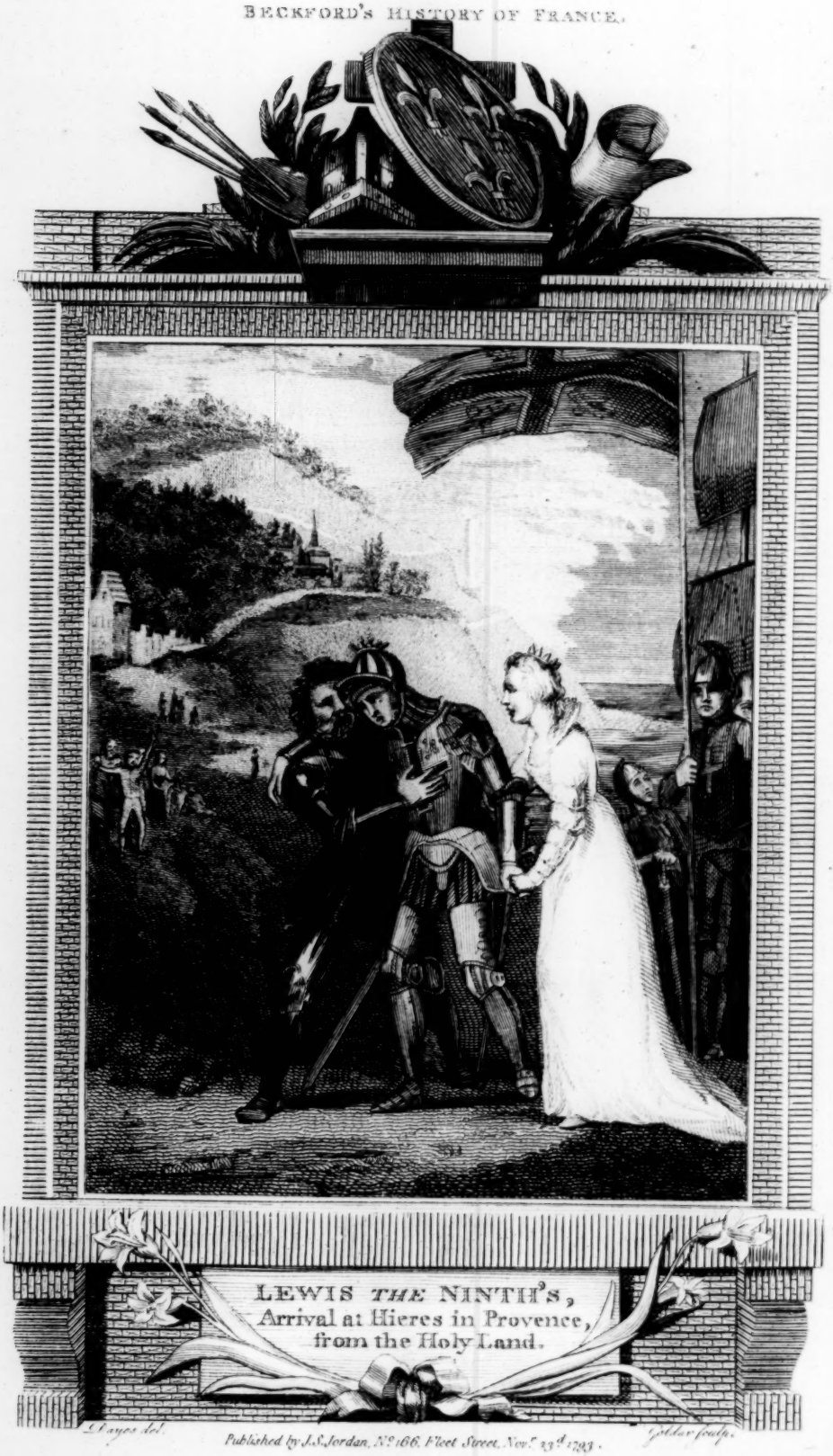

LEWIS *THE* NINTH'S,
Arrival at Hieres in Provence,
from the Holy Land.

T. Dayes del. Published by J.S. Jordan, N.o 166, Fleet Street, Nov.r 23.d 1793. Goldar sculp.

The death of his mother, whom he appears to have ſincerely and tenderly bewailed, induced him to prevent, by a return to his kingdom, thoſe evils which he might reaſonably anticipate, from the loſs of ſo able a delegate; and, placing garriſons in the cities ſtill held by the Chriſtians in Syria, embarked with his Queen and followers for his native land. Upon his arrival at Hieres, in Provence, he was ſo much emaciated by the accumulated effects of his diſappointments in Paleſtine, and the ſuſpenſe and anxiety of a long and dangerous voyage, that it was neceſſary he ſhould be ſupported at his landing by his attendants. His melancholy and diſconſolate air, the few attendants he ſuffered to be occupied about his perſon, the plainneſs of his dreſs, in which he ever afterwards continued to perſevere, as a token of mourning, in remembrance of the dreadful numbers that had periſhed in his unfortunate undertaking, in ſome meaſure damped the univerſal joy that diffuſed itſelf over his kingdom, in congratulation of his happy return; and which was farther abated by the fatal croſs, ſtill worn upon his upper garment, and which too plainly indicated that he had not relinquiſhed all future thoughts of another expedition. A. D. 1254.

His reception in the metropolis was ſuch as might have been expected from his long abſence, and the perilous enterpriſe in which he had been, for ſo many years, engaged, independently of the veneration

A. D. ration and affection entertained for his perſon and character; hence feſtivities the moſt ſplendid, and rejoicings the moſt ſincere, were the harbingers of the public eſteem: and the King of England having allayed the tumults in Gaſcony, and being deſirous of a perſonal interview with Lewis, repaired with his Queen to Paris, where hoſpitality and magnificence united to entertain the royal gueſts. Several days were paſſed by the two Sovereigns, in confidence and urbanity; the truce that had lately expired was renewed; and the Gallic Monarch again expreſſed his conſcientious deſire to reſtore the provinces that had been wreſted from the Engliſh crown; "But," ſaid he, "my twelve "Peers, and the Barons of the realm, will not per- "mit the conceſſion."

The departure of Henry was followed by renewed feſtivities, upon the marriage of Iſabel, a Princeſs of France, with Thibauld of Champagne, King of Navarre; but theſe events were not ſuffered to interfere with the more meritorious occupations of Lewis. The regulation of the internal abuſes of the kingdom, and the juriſprudence, as well as the police, which he eſtabliſhed in his dominions, have been as much the recording pride of the hiſtorian, as has been his intrepidity in the field: his patient reſignation under misfortunes, and his impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, with his regular and conſiſtent virtues, very ſoon repaired

the

the evils which had been occaſioned by his abſence. A. D.

Anxious to ſecure the tranquillity of his kingdom, he entered into an alliance with the Arragonian and the Engliſh Monarchs. To the former he relinquiſhed his pretenſions to Rouſſillon and to Catalonia, in return for the claims of that crown upon Carcaſſonne, Bezieres, and Milhaud; and affianced his ſon, Philip, to the daughter of that Monarch. To Henry he ſurrendered Quercy, Perigord, and the Limoſin, in conſideration that he ſhould renounce all claim to the provinces of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou; deſirous, as he expreſſed himſelf, that their ſons ſhould have no cauſe for future contention.

His integrity, his moderation, and his candour, 1264.
had procured him the confidence of all Europe. So highly was his character reſpected, that the Engliſh Barons, as well as their Sovereign, conſented, with alacrity, to make him the arbitrator of thoſe differences which agitated with civil commotions that kingdom. He accepted the important, as the honourable truſt; and convened an aſſembly at Amiens, whither the King of England, and the deputies of the Barons, in perſon repaired. Lewis inveſtigated with aſſiduity the exiſting diſputes; annulled the proviſions of Oxford, to which Henry had been compelled to accede; reſtored the prerogatives of the crown to the ſame ſtate in which they had been before the period

A. D. period of altercation; ordained that a general amneſty ſhould be paſſed; and enforced the propriety of a ſtrict adherence to the ſtipulations that had been ſet forth in Magna Charta.

Unexceptionable as were theſe decrees, the French Monarch had not the ſatisfaction to find that they produced the good effects that he had expected. They were rejected by the factious Nobles, at the head of whom was Simon, Earl of Leiceſter, a native of France, and a ſon of the inhuman leader of the cruſade againſt the unfortunate Albigenſes. The Engliſh poſſeſſions of that family had been reſigned by the elder branch to this younger brother, once the favourite and the confidential miniſter of the Engliſh Monarch.

That diſintereſted conduct which had hitherto marked the character of Lewis, now gave way to the ſeductive proſpect of the aggrandizement of his family; and may perhaps be deemed, ſo ſignal was his reputation for integrity, the only cenſurable action of his reign. The Popes, irreconcileable enemies to the Emperors of the Suabian line, had preſumed, as we have already obſerved, to depoſe Frederick the Second from that dignity, and to pretend to a right of diſpoſing of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily: but, during the life of that Prince, they obtained no decided advantages. Upon his demiſe, and that of Conrad, his ſon, who had borne the Imperial title a ſhort time, the Empire was rent by a variety of factions; ſeveral

ſeveral Princes were nominated to the honours of A. D.
the purple; among whom was Richard, Earl of Cornwall, a brother of Henry, King of England. The Italian poſſeſſions had been wreſted by Mainfroy, the natural ſon of Frederick, from his nephew, Conraddin, the only legitimate heir of the Houſe of Suabia. The uſurper diſclaimed the required homage inſiſted upon by the Papal power, and commenced hoſtilities, by incurſions into the temporal dominions of the Pontiff.

Alexander the Fourth, unable to reſiſt the ſuperior arms of his antagoniſt, had recourſe to the Engliſh Court, and offered the crown ſucceſſively to the Duke of Cornwall, and to the King of England for his ſecond ſon, Edmond. By the firſt it was refuſed: the troubles that then divided the kingdom, prevented the latter prince from taking advantage of the inveſtiture. The ſucceſſor to the Papal honours, Urban the Fourth, not having received the ſupport expected from Henry, transferred to Charles, Count of Anjou, a prince of fierce and brutal courage, his aſſumed right to the thrones of Naples and Sicily; having previouſly made a tender of it to the King of France for one of his ſons, which that Sovereign had deciſively rejected:—but contrary to his natural diſpoſition, Lewis not only conſented to his brother's acceptance of an offer injurious to the claim of Conraddin, but permitted a cruſade to be publiſhed in France againg the uſurper Mainfroy.

A. D. 1265. The Count of Anjou, already a very powerful prince from his extenſive poſſeſſions, repaired to Italy, to receive the inveſtiture of his newly-acquired dominions. Having been crowned at Rome, he entered the kingdom of Naples; and defeating his opponent upon the plains of Beneventum, the action was concluſive;—Mainfroy was ſlain in the heat of the engagement, and his more fortunate aſſailant became the poſſeſſor of the conteſted territories.

His barbarity and his extortions arouſed the indignation of his new ſubjects; they called upon Conraddin, their natural Sovereign, to vindicate his proper rights. The young Prince was not deficient in courage, nor tardy in his exertions. He raiſed a powerful party—was every where received, and acknowledged by the Italians, as their deliverer from the inſupportable preſſure of the Gallic yoke: but his competitor having received a veteran reinforcement from France, a general engagement took place at Aquila, in Abruzzo; and here fortune was again propitious to the pretenſions of the Angevin Prince. The ſon of Frederick, having performed all that valour without conduct could effect, was defeated, and taken ſoon afterwards in diſguiſe, with Frederick, his couſin, the Archduke of Auſtria.

The inhuman Charles, inſenſible to the tender years of his priſoners, as to the general odium of the deed, and adviſed, as it is affirmed, by Clement

ment the Fourth, who was then upon his death-bed, ordered them to a public trial; and, after a pretended condemnation, directed that they ſhould both be beheaded, together with a number of their adherents of the firſt rank, upon a ſcaffold erected for the occaſion in the market-place at Naples. Such was the deplorable end of the illuſtrious Houſe of Suabia, which had governed the empire for five centuries, and had been diſtinguiſhed by many brave and gallant Princes! A.D.

The ferocious and unworthy brother of Lewis, unſatiated with blood, ſtill continued to purſue his plan of ſlaughter; ſacrificed to his rage the mother, with the ſon of Mainfroy; deſolated the poſſeſſions of the German party in Italy; tortured thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their cauſe; and filled every corner of his new acquiſitions with the horrid recital of his matchleſs barbarity. Such were the execrable means, but not without a future retribution, by which he ſecured to himſelf the poſſeſſion of the kingdoms of Naples and of Sicily. How Lewis was affected by theſe cruelties, committed by one ſo nearly allied to him by birth, does not, for the conſolation of humanity, appear: his virtues are brought forth with a luminous diſplay, but his avowed ſupport of his brother in his uſurpation is forgotten by the partial hiſtorian; yet will ever be conſidered by the unprejudiced, as a blot upon the integrity and juſtice ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon his general conduct. In this violation of moral prin-

A. D. ciple there could not be any plea of religion, which had, upon other occaſions, miſled his natural benevolence; and would almoſt lead us to doubt that the vaunted ſenſibility of his mind was rather problematic than ſincere.

While his brother was thus ſacrificing to his barbarous reſentment the unfortunate adherents of the Suabian line, the Gallic Monarch was occupied in preparations for a new cruſade. Regardleſs of the miſeries he had himſelf endured, and of the cruel diſtreſs his ſuperſtition had brought upon others; devoured by his blindneſs and his zeal in the cauſe of Chriſtianity,—he embraced the weak and infatuated idea of chaſtiſing the King of Tunis, who, he alledged, had failed in his promiſe to renounce the Mahometan faith, to become a convert to the doctrines of the Catholic Church.

His mild and prudent adminiſtration had ſecured to his dominions the bleſſings of tranquillity; he had ſtrengthened the power of the crown by the provident alliances he had made for his children: order, civilization, agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, were making ſome progreſs in his kingdom: he was the mediator of, and had the credit to terminate a diſpute between the Kings of England and Navarre, reſpecting the city of Bayonne; and ſecured, by his character of a juſt and a moderate Prince, the reſpect and the confidence of the neighbouring potentates: but theſe important conſiderations were not ſufficient to deter him from purſuing

purſuing thoſe ideas which his piety imprinted upon his conſcience as neceſſary and meritorious. A. D.

The miſerable ſituation of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, equally filled his mind with compaſſion and reſentment. The Emir, who had been at the head of the conſpiracy againſt Almoadd-hemi, was now become the Sultan of Egypt. Prudent, ambitious, and intrepid, he flattered himſelf with the hope of being able to expel the Chriſtians from the Eaſt. Cæſarea, and almoſt all thoſe places ſo ineffectually fortified by Lewis, ſoon fell into his victorious hands; and Acre was equally menaced with the ſame fate. The news of this rapid ſucceſs haſtened the departure of the Gallic King; he convened a numerous aſſembly at Paris, and announced his determination to lead once more his armies into the country of the Infidels.

The Croſs was again aſſumed; the example of the Monarch, as heretofore, induced a prodigious number of zealots to enliſt under the ſacred ſtandard; and foreign Princes became ambitious to ſerve with ſo diſtinguiſhed a leader. Beſides his three ſons, his nephew, the Count of Artois, with their conſorts; his brother, the King of Sicily, who, from ſituation and reſources, was ardently inclined to participate in the intended warfare;—he was promiſed the perſonal attendance of the King of Navarre, with his brother Henry, Prince Edward of England, and the Duke of Brittany. The clergy were again aſſeſſed a tenth

A. D. of their revenues, for four years; and a capitation tax was levied upon all the ſubjects of France.

1270. Previouſly to his departure, the Gallic Monarch, doubtful of his return, from the precarious ſtate of his health, endeavoured to provide for the peace of his family after his demiſe, by aſcertaining the various appendages of his ſons; confirmed, by a ſolemn teſtament, his future bequeſts; and appointing Matthew, Abbot of Saint Denis, with Simon de Neſle, to the government of the kingdom, departed for Aigue-Morte, the appointed place of general rendezvous. During his detention in the neighbourhood of that town, he received an embaſſy from Michael Paleologus, the Emperor of Conſtantinople, who had expelled the Latins, and reſtored to the Greeks the ſovereignty over that city. Suſpicious of the formidable armaments of Lewis, he was anxious to inveſtigate the ſentiments of that Prince, and offered to ſubmit to his arbitration the ſchiſm ſubſiſting between the Latin and Greek churches. Too intent upon his ſpiritual undertaking, the King declined the ſubdolous offer; and the Emperor, ſatisfied that the preparations were not deſtined to annoy his government, gave himſelf no farther trouble about a project that had been only dictated by the policy of the moment.

At Cagliari, in the iſland of Sardinia, he firſt communicated his intention to proceed to Tunis, rather than to Egypt, as had been the ſuppoſed object

object of his deſtination. Being there joined by the King and Queen of Navarre, with the Count of Poitiers, he embarked, landed upon the African coaſt, and ſeizing upon a ſmall town, ſituated, as has been imagined, where once ſtood the famous Carthage, laid ſiege to Tunis. Contrary to his expectations, he found this place, already the centre of the commerce carried on in the Mediterranean, rich, populous, well fortified, and capable of making a formidable oppoſition; he, therefore, thought it neceſſary to await a junction with the King of Sicily, who was daily expected, and to act, until that period, entirely upon the defenſive. A. D.

Conſtantly attacked by the deſultory ſquadrons of the enemy, whom they could not bring to a deciſive action; the burning and enervating heat of the climate, the vigilance they were obliged to obſerve, with the ſcarcity of proviſions, the noxious quality of the water, and the contracted ſpace in which they were confined, introduced a variety of peſtilential diſorders, whoſe deſtructive malignity ſwept off, in the courſe of a few days, the better half of the unfortunate and devoted army, with John, Count of Nevers, the ſon of the Gallic Monarch, born at Damietta during the miſeries of the laſt cruſade, and from which he had obtained the melancholy appellation of Triſtran. At length the contagion reached the perſon of the King:— when his diſorder had increaſed beyond all hope of abatement, he prepared, with his uſual calmneſs

A. D. and reſignation, to meet with fortitude the ſtroke of death. While he had any ſtrength remaining, he was occupied in inſtructing Philip, his ſon, in the important duties that were about to devolve upon him, and in breathing forth his fervent prayers for the converſion of the Infidels. When he perceived that his moments were almoſt numbered, he directed his body to be laid upon a bed of aſhes; and upon this ſolemn remembrancer of the vanities of life, reſigned his ſpirit, addreſſing, with a diſtinct and aweful enunciation, the words of the Pſalmiſt David: "I ſhall enter into thy "houſe, O Lord! I ſhall adore thee in thy holy "temple; and I will glorify thy name."

Aug. 25, 1270. Thus died Lewis, canonized ſome years afterwards by Boniface the Eighth, a ſaint, from his piety, his trials, and his reſignation, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and in the forty-fourth of his reign. By Margaret of Provence, his Queen, he had ſix ſons and five daughters: of whom ſurvived him, Philip, his ſucceſſor; Peter, Count of Alençon; Robert, Count of Clermont, who was united to Beatrix, the heireſs of the houſe of Bourbon; Iſabel, Queen of Navarre; Blanch, eſpuſed to Ferdinand de la Cerda, whoſe children were excluded from the throne of Caſtile, by their uncle, Sancho; Margaret, Ducheſs of Brabant; and Agnes, conſort of Robert the Second, Duke of Burgundy.

From

From the dawnings of his youth, this amiable Prince gave inherent tokens of a well-diſpoſed and a virtuous mind. Nature had beſtowed upon him all thoſe qualities eſſential to form a great character;—wiſdom, liberality, humanity, beneficence, juſtice, intrepidity, and moderation: but Blanche, his mother, ambitious of abſolute ſway, is juſtly accuſed of having given a fatal turn to his ſplendid endowments, by an education unſuitable to the important ſtation which he was doomed to fill. By placing him early in life under the tuition of gloomy eccleſiaſtics, who had bred him up in a ſlaviſh conformity to the doctrines and the diſcipline of the Church of Rome, ſhe laid the foundation of that fanatic enthuſiaſm which hurried him into enterpriſes, however conſidered in thoſe times as meritorious, that were in themſelves unjuſt and barbarous. Ambition had not any part in the intemperate zeal which induced him to engage in two cruſades, unfavourable to the cauſe he wiſhed to promote, unhappy for his country, and fatal to himſelf. His misfortunes, and the miſeries he ſuffered in thoſe expeditions, however romantic and extravagant, will be remembered with ſorrow and compaſſion, although they cannot be ſanctioned by the approbation of poſterity. A. D.

Whatever may be blameable in the conduct of Lewis, proceeded from the ſame ill-directed enthuſiaſm: the perſecution of the Count of Thouloufe, and the ſeverity exerciſed againſt the unfortunate

A. D. tunate Albigenſes, cannot be with juſtice attributed to his intervention, but ſolely to the ambition of the Queen Regent; the Gallic King being then too young to have had any ſhare in that unwarantable and inhuman perſecution. Not ſo was his encouragement of that dreaded tribunal, eſtabliſhed over the conſciences of men, by the arbitrary decrees of the Papal See; more particularly in the inſtance of an iniquitous impoſtor, who, deceiving the Pope, had been ſanctioned by his authority, and who was permitted, for the ſpace of five years, to exerciſe the tyranny of his inquiſitorial function throughout his dominions; and who, pretending to know heretics by their air and voice, abuſed the confidence of the King, and indiſcriminately committed to the flames the orthodox as the unconforming.

His edicts againſt the Jews, and thoſe iſſued to ſuppreſs or puniſh blaſphemy, were ſevere in their promulgation, and rigid in their execution; and his aſſiſtance to the Count of Anjou, to effect the conqueſt of Naples and Sicily, the moſt cenſurable action of his reign, there not being any religious plea to ſanction the meaſure, conſiderably tended to rebate the ſplendour of his virtues, and to compel us to acknowledge his imperfections as a man.

He has been arraigned for aſſimilating the government of his kingdom with the rules of a convent; for having employed thoſe hours in prayer, which

which might have been more actively employed in A. D.
political arrangements, and in profiting by the civil diſſenſions of the neighbouring Sovereigns; and for yielding with ſo invariable a ſubmiſſion to the controul of his mother.—Would the purſuits of ambition, the conſtant ſucceſſion of turbulence and warfare have been attended with ſo much comfort to himſelf, or have ſo far advanced the proſperity of his people, as the ſimplicity of his manners? However conformable he may have been to the will of the imperious Blanche in his private concerns,—in affairs of a public nature, where could he have found a perſon more able to aſſiſt his councils, and who governed his kingdom with more advantage to his own perſonal honour and intereſt, and to the tranquillity and happineſs of his people? In whatever manner his domeſtic hours were paſſed, they did not ſolely engage his thoughts: his laws, his regulations, his police, are evident proofs of a ſedulous attention to the public welfare; nor did his piety, nay, in ſome inſtances, his unaccountable weakneſs, in religious concerns, diminiſh the eſteem and veneration of his ſubjects. He knew ſo well how to temper condeſcenſion with dignity, that, after an attentive peruſal of his reign, it muſt be allowed that we meet not with any Monarch more reſpected or more beloved than was this conſcientious and amiable Prince.

He lived in terms of peace and amity with the Court of Rome, the Emperor of Germany, and the

A. D. the King of England; at a time when their dominions were torne by contending factions, and when he could have ſucceſſively taken advantage of their commotions, to enlarge his territories: but he diſdained ſo ungenerous a meaſure; an inſtance of juſtice, and of moderation, which, although it might have partaken of a judicious policy, was more conſonant to the natural rectitude of his heart! So highly were his benevolent qualities eſtimated, that Sovereigns were proud to appeal to the integrity of his judgment, and to abide by the impartiality of his deciſions; an aſſertion no where more honourably recorded than in the example of the Engliſh Monarch, in his diſputes with his diſcontented Barons. His ſubjects were no leſs willing to entruſt to his arbitration even cauſes in which he was often himſelf a party concerned; and upon ſuch occaſions, whenever the affair was doubtful, he would decide againſt his own perſonal intereſts: a proof of equity, which in its conſequences tended more to the extenſion of the royal authority, than could have been effected by the moſt political and enterpriſing Prince.

He eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid foundation, appeals from ſeigniorial judgments; inhibited the barbarous practice of private wars; and ſubſtituted proofs by witneſs, inſtead of that ſenſeleſs termination by duels, in which force and dexterity were of more conſequence to the favourable iſſue of a cauſe, than the wiſdom, penetration, and integrity of the judge;

and

and he reſcued the clergy of his dominions from A. D.
the deſpotic exactions of the Court of Rome; for, whatever deference he might pay to the ſpiritual character of the ſucceſſors of Saint Peter, he reſiſted with firmneſs their inſolent interference in the temporal concerns of his kingdom, and was the firſt Prince of the Capetian race that circumſcribed the bounds of the epiſcopal power. Had the Roman Pontiffs but uſed with moderation the influence they had obtained, they might have long preſerved their authority undiminiſhed; but inſatiable in their requiſitions, the French clergy revolted from their implicit obedience to the Holy See, and had recourſe to the protection of Lewis, who eſtabliſhed regulations, known under the appellation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which ſecured the liberty of the Gallican church, while the troubles of Italy and of Germany prevented the Popes from oppoſing the decrees of the Gallic Monarch, or diſturbing the tranquillity of his dominions.

From a review of the life and reign of Lewis, as dictated by the French hiſtorians, he muſt be allowed to have been the moſt juſt, the moſt amiable, and the moſt virtuous Sovereign that had ever dignified a throne. Manly in his exertions, generous in all his ideas, excepting when religious prejudices were ſuffered to overcome his natural benevolence,—he was a model, with few ſhadows to interrupt the brilliancy of his character, from which future Kings may

A. D. may derive an honourable, as an uſeful example: uniting the dignified deportment of a Monarch, with the urbanity, the accompliſhments, and the graces of a private gentleman. Humble in his piety, wiſe in his ordonnances, impartial in his deciſions, intrepid in the field, and patient under misfortunes, he reconciled the contradictory characters of the monk, the hero, the chriſtian, and the philoſopher. If to theſe different qualifications we add, that he was exemplary in his domeſtic life, a great king, and a good man, it would be invidious to deny him the reputation he has acquired, to refuſe his ſuperior claims to the honours of canonization, and to acknowledge that he was, as far as human nature is capable of perfection, almoſt perfect.

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A review of the government and regulations of the three laſt Sovereigns, and the various cauſes which tended to the augmentation of the royal authority of their ſucceſſors; as, the inſtitution of communities, the conqueſts of Philip Auguſtus, the royal courts of appeal, the gradual ſuppreſſion of private war and the cruſades.—Manners improved by the inſtitution of chivalry, and the cultivation of the ſciences and literature.

THE eſtabliſhment of communities by Lewis the Groſs, with the conqueſts of Philip Auguſtus, conſiderably tended to the augmentation of the regal authority of their ſucceſſors. The firſt gave them

them a militia, trained to arms, and ready to take the field when called upon, independent of the great vaſſals of the crown; the ſecond, by annexing ſo many extenſive provinces to the royal demeſnes, deſtroyed that equality of force, which had hitherto enabled a Count of Flanders, a Count of Thouloufe, and a Count of Champagne, with other potent Barons, to take up arms, and frequently with ſucceſs, againſt their Sovereigns. The authority enjoyed by thoſe Monarchs, in conſequence of theſe advantages, permitted them to introduce more regularity into their ſyſtem of government, than it had been poſſible for the firſt Prince of the Capetian line to attain: but the kingdom, ruled by vague and fluctuating cuſtoms, only wanted a weak Prince, and ſome powerful and aſpiring Noble, to overthrow the foundations of order, and the growing influence of the crown. A. D.

Their ſucceſſor, Lewis the Ninth, appears to have perfectly underſtood the maxims by which they had been guided; he employed againſt the more powerful Barons of the realm, the ſame policy which they obſerved in their conduct to their own vaſſals, whom they weakened and degraded, by extending and by augmenting their impoſitions and exactions: profiting, therefore, by their rapacity, he conſtrained them to acknowledge in him the ſame authority, which they themſelves affected to aſſume in right of their ſuzeranity.

The

A. D. The Capetian Kings had diſtributed in their demeſnes certain officers, denominated Prévôts, whoſe functions reſembled thoſe exerciſed by the Counts, under the Princes of the Merovingian race, and whoſe office it was to collect their revenues, aſſemble the militia, diſtribute juſtice, and render an account of their adminiſtration to the great Senechal, an appointment partaking in ſome meaſure of that of the ancient mayors of the palace: but Philip Auguſtus, conceiving that dignity, which had been long hereditary in the Houſe of Anjou, as conferring too much power, ſubſtituted, after its ſuppreſſion, Royal Bailiffs, to ſuperintend the conduct of the Prévôts; and upon the return of Lewis from Paleſtine, he eſtabliſhed and confirmed the four great bailiwicks of Vermandois, Sens, Saint Pierre le Moutier, and Maçon, for the determination of royal or privileged cauſes, eccleſiaſtical references, and appeals from ſeigniorial judgments.

Appeals had been hitherto confined to the domeſtic tribunal of the Sovereign, or to the court of his bailiff, to redreſs the grievances of the ſubjects of his own demeſnes. To give, in the words of Joinville, the faithful hiſtorian of that Prince, the origin of this court: "I have ſeen," ſays he, "the good Saint Lewis, after having attended "maſs, ſeat himſelf in ſummer under the ſhadows "of an oak, in the wood of Vincennes; and "deſiring us all to ſit around him, would permit "every one freely to approach him, without the "ceremo-

"ceremonious delays of a court, and ſeek from A. D.
"his impartial deciſions that redreſs they had been
"unable to obtain from the juſtice of his bailiffs."

Lewis, by the eſtabliſhment of the four above-mentioned bailiwicks, having brought the deciſions of the barons courts under the review of the royal judges, and, in ſome meaſure, with their tacit conſent;—the juriſdiction of the bailiffs, no longer confined within the lands appertaining to the crown, but extended over whole provinces, in which they were authorized to liſten to the grievances of the vaſſals of other nobles, daily aſſumed new rights. They took advantage of every defect, and of every error, obſervable in the courts of the barons, to remove cauſes from thence to the royal tribunals; and, by their interference in all caſes, however incompatible with their authority, the regal influence ſo rapidly increaſed, that, by the acceſſion of Philip the Hardy, that Monarch began to extend his regulations to whatever intereſted or concerned the public in general.

The Nobles, however they might oppoſe theſe innovations upon their accuſtomed privileges, when their Sovereigns proceeded with circumſpection in the exerciſe of their newly-acquired power, were willing to make ſmall ſacrifices, rather than commence open hoſtilities, with an unequal force: it cannot be, therefore, doubted, but France, as real ſubordination was more eſtabliſhed, and as diſorders in conſequence were leſs frequent, became

A. D. more proſperous and happy than it had hitherto been; and even the higher orders of the State, weary of their domeſtic diſſentions, began, by the reign of Lewis the Ninth, to feel the neceſſity of being guided by one ſpirit. This Prince, however, as well as his two predeceſſors, when they ventured to introduce any regulation that extended beyond their demeſnes, where careful to avoid appearing to affect the tone of legiſlators, which, had they aſſumed, would have at once excited a general oppoſition to their wiſhes. Their laws, eſtabliſhments, and ordonnances, therefore, by whatever title diſtinguiſhed, were, in fact, no more than treaties, leagues, and confederations, mutually agreed upon between themſelves and the Peers, the Nobles, and the Prelates, who had been aſſembled at their aſſize courts.

The confidence repoſed in the integrity of Lewis the Ninth, induced him, in the latter years of his reign, to take a more deciſive part; and, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, obtained him an executive, before a legiſlative power had been eſtabliſhed. The more enlightened members of the community began to perceive that it was not ſufficient he ſhould be the the protector of the cuſtoms of the monarchy; but that there was wanting a legiſlator, who ſhould collect, reviſe, amend the various regulations, and form them into fixed and invariable laws.

What are generally underſtood to be the inſtitutions bearing his name, compriſed the ancient uſages

uſages of the kingdom, the ordonnances of his predeceſſors, and ſuch as he had himſelf at different times promulgated, and which were ſuppoſed to have been publiſhed in the year in which he departed from France, to engage in his ſecond cruſade. Monteſquieu, however, thinks that they were not his eſtabliſhments, but compiled from them after his death, in the ſame manner as Pierre le Fontaine, and Beaumanoir, collected the cuſtoms of their bailiwicks; being an imperfect code, collated from the old French and Roman laws, the canons, councils, decretals, and epiſtles of the Popes, often contradictory, and, for the moſt part, ſoon diſuſed, as relating principally to feudal rights, a ſpecies of government every day declining. A. D.

The wiſdom and the equity ſo highly conſpicuous in the code of Lewis, could not fail to obtain it a favourable reception throughout the kingdom. When he ventured to promulgate any general edict, he prudently hazarded only ſuch as corrected an abuſe, of which every one felt the neceſſity of a ſpeedy reform. Poſſeſſed of legiſlative ideas far ſuperior to the political knowledge of the age in which he lived, his regulations were at once wiſe and uſeful: calculated to correct the diſorders of the moment, they were ſoon adopted by thoſe who were ſufficiently clear-ſighted to obſerve the advantage produced by their introduction in the royal demeſnes. To invite, when it is improper

A.D. to conſtrain; to lead, when it is impolitic to command, is one of the moſt important points of ability to which the human faculty can poſſibly attain; and thus, by managing the prejudices of his nation, inſtead of making his ſubjects fear his power, this juſt and diſcerning Prince conciliated their affections, and drew them, by a mild and a gradual progreſs, to make the veneration they bore his character, the honourable motives by which they were induced to acquieſce in his regulations.

Various, but ineffectual, had been the meaſures adopted in the eleventh century, to aboliſh private war; a right which every baron conceived to be inherent in his fief. The church had employed remonſtrances, threats, nay, pretended miſſions, to check a practice ſo repugnant to the ſafety, and ſo derogatory to the happineſs of ſociety. Sometimes they had obtained a ceſſation of hoſtilities for a few years: the ſeaſons ſet apart for the celebration of great feſtivals, as likewiſe from Thurſday evening until Monday morning; the paſſion of the Redeemer having commenced on the firſt of thoſe days, and the reſurrection taken place on the laſt; were deemed holy, and as ſuch had become excepted from warfare. Theſe intervals of peace were denominated "The truce of God;"—and from having been the private regulations of a peculiar diſtrict, not only ſpread throughout the kingdom, but over all the European States, were confirmed by the Papal authority, and againſt the

the violators of which were denounced the moſt heavy cenſures of the church. A. D.

At the cloſe of the twelfth century a new aſſociation was formed, through the means of Durand, a carpenter, of Puy, in Auvergne, who affirmed that the Virgin had appeared to, and incited him to exhort men to be reconciled: in conſequence of which many Prelates and Barons, induced by a real or by a pretended devotion, entered into a confederation; and, taking upon themſelves the appellation of the Brotherhood of God, engaged to make peace with their own enemies, and compel others to do the ſame; but theſe different engagements were only partial remedies, and applied to the evil but an inefficient, as a temporary, relief.

Lewis the Ninth more effectually checked the proneneſs to theſe domeſtic diſſenſions than any of his predeceſſors. He iſſued an edict, forbidding any perſon to commence hoſtilities, until forty days after the offence had been given, on pain of incurring the puniſhment adjudged to traitors. This "royal truce" afforded a conſiderable time for both parties to relax in their reſentments; and the ſucceeding Monarchs renewed or amended his ordonnances, ſuſpended or reſumed their newly-acquired rights, according to the contingency of the moment; and, at length, by a ſteady perſeverance, ultimately aboliſhed this pernicious cuſtom.

A. D. While theſe various methods were deviſed by the three laſt Monarchs whoſe reigns have been reviewed, for the extenſion of the royal authority, the cruſades, although for awhile they impoveriſhed the kingdom, contributed in a great meaſure to effect the ſame purpoſe. The ſplendid appearance which the Nobles made in the Holy Wars, obliged them to mortgage their lands, to procure the means by which they might gratify their vanity; and which as they could but ſeldom redeem, the Sovereign into whoſe hands they fell, contrived thus, for an inadequate conſideration, to annex them to the royal demeſnes: and Lewis, by the obſervance of a rigid œconomy, notwithſtanding his expenſive as diſtant expeditions, likewiſe augmented by conſiderable purchaſes, his territorial poſſeſſions. The reverſion alſo of many fiefs that lapſed to the crown, whoſe poſſeſſors periſhed without heirs, in thoſe fatal expeditions, with the abſence of a number of turbulent and refractory Barons, enabled the Monarch to obtain more weight in the conſtitution, and to introduce a more tranquil and a more regular government.

Unjuſtifiable as were thoſe fanatic expeditions, they gave birth to that bold and generous ſpirit, which, embelliſhed by the poets and the romance-writers of the age, produced the wild and gallant inſtitution of chivalry; and which, however extravagant in its origin, had a conſiderable effect in ſoftening the ferocious manners of that age. Thoſe feudal

feudal tyrants, who had been themſelves the depredators upon the public peace, had been guilty of every act of oppreſſion and injuſtice,—inſpired, at length, by a conviction of common intereſt, rather than actuated by the more honourable motives of natural equity, were induced to form aſſociations, to check the inſolence of overgrown poſſeſſors, and to defend and avenge the helpleſs and the unprotected. A. D.

This military and political inſtitution, which, among other beneficial effects, in ſome meaſure counteracted that proneneſs to the inactive ſeclusion of the monaſtic life, ſo prevalent at the period of its origin, may be traced to the middle of the eleventh century, when the diſorders of government had perhaps attained their moſt inſupportable height. Juſtice, valour, courteſy, humanity, religious fervour, and, more than all, a reſpectful and a devoted attachment to the fair ſex, were the characteriſtical requiſites of a true knight. The novice in chivalry, prepared by education for this diſtinguiſhed and honourable ſtation, was placed, at an early age, in the court of ſome illuſtrious and powerful chieftain, where, under the different gradations of Page and Squire, he was inſtructed in the uſe and exerciſe of arms. Although noble himſelf by birth, he attended the perſon of his patron, to dreſs, accoutre, and mount him for the combat: ever watchful in the field of battle, his activity and ſkill, in the fre-

A. D. quent ſupply of freſh horſes and weapons were oftentimes of the utmoſt conſequence to the ſucceſs and the honourable achievements of his lord.

Having attained the proper age, and, by ſome ſtriking proof of his valour and addreſs, been deemed worthy of an admittance into the diſtinguiſhed order of knighthood; the young candidate prepared, in a moſt ſolemn manner, for his introduction. The various formalities of faſting, prayer, of nightly attendance in churches, of confeſſion, the frequent reception of the Euchariſt, and other ceremonies of devotion, having been overcome, he repaired, clothed in white, as an emblem of the purity of his manners, to the ſacred altar; and there, in an act of genu-flexion, having ſworn to devote his life, as well as all his worldly poſſeſſions, to the defence of his religion, the proſecution of war againſt the Infidels, the protection of the perſons and the reputations of all the virtuous part of the fair-ſex—to reſcue the widow and the orphan, the weak and the unprotected, from the arm of oppreſſion and violence—he was adorned with the armour and the inſignia of chivalry by the knights, and the ladies aſſiſting at this ſplendid and romantic ceremony: after which, by three ſtrokes of the ſword, laid gently upon the ſhoulder, by the Sovereign, or the Nobleman who was to confer upon him this enviable diſtinction, he was deemed truly and lawfully inſtituted a companion of that honourable Order.

At

At firſt there were two claſſes of Knights—Ban- A. D.
nerets and Bachelors, and known by the different forms of their banners. Thoſe admitted into the firſt deſcription, it was neceſſary, ſhould be ſufficiently opulent and powerful to retain fifty armed followers. The privileges of the Order were great and many, and conferred a diſtinction which rank and birth could not convey. They were exempted from all taxes, were allowed the honour of partaking of the table of their Sovereigns, with the uſe of peculiar armour, and of being diſtinguiſhed by particular appellations. Known by the ſplendour of their equipage and arms, every palace, caſtle, and barrier of towns, was opened to receive and entertain the noble ſtranger; while individuals too frequently carried their reſpect to ſo ſcandalous an exceſs, as to forget the laws of decency, in the encouragement of the moſt corrupt and licentious manners. The ſons of Kings were initiated into the Order, with ſingular marks of pomp and ceremony. Philip Auguſtus, ſome years before his death, admitted his ſon, Lewis the Eighth, with great ſplendour, into this romantic inſtitution; and the magnificence of their jouſts and tournaments, although frequently attended with fatal conſequences, encouraged and foſtered the growth of chivalry; the moſt potent Monarchs not diſdaining to receive the honour of knighthood from the hands of perſons of inferior rank, and humble pretenſions.

The

A. D. The progreſs of ſcience, and the cultivation of literature, deſerve to be mentioned among other cauſes which contributed to introduce a change of manners among the European nations. Letters began to revive about the cloſe of the eleventh century; but the enquiries of the learned, ill directed in their firſt purſuits, plunged, at once, into abſtruſe and metaphyſical enquiries, ſubtle and vain diſputes, bold diſquiſitions and ſpeculations, as unavailing as they were difficult; and which is accounted for in the following manner, by a modern writer, of deep diſcernment, and no leſs eminent for his integrity and genius, than for his acknowledged perſpicuity and judgment.

Moſt of thoſe who made any attempts towards the revival of literature in the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries, had been inſtructed, or had derived their principles of ſcience from the learned in the Eaſtern Empire, or from the Arabians of Spain and Africa; but theſe people, acute and inquiſitive to exceſs, corrupted what they had taken the pains to cultivate. The former rendered theology a ſyſtem of ſpeculative refinement, or of endleſs and unavailing controverſy; the latter communicated to philoſophy a ſpirit of metaphyſical and frivolous ſubtlety. The ſchools of the Eaſt, and of Spain, were in high repute: many, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a proficiency in the ſciences, during the above-mentioned period, were educated among the Arabians; and the firſt knowledge

ledge they obtained of the philoſophy of Ariſtotle, A. D.
they acquired from a tranſlation of his works from the Arabic.

Schools began to be re-eſtabliſhed and conducted in the ſame manner as they had been in the time of Charlemagne, in the cathedrals, and in the monaſteries, but which were chiefly confined to the uſe and practice of grammar. Univerſities were founded, and formed into communities and corporations, with regular profeſſors, who taught all the different parts of ſcience. Extenſive privileges were granted, and academical honours invented, as an incitement to the induſtrious, in the paths of literature; and the firſt obſcure mention made of the various collegiate degrees, ſeems to have been at the commencement of the twelfth century, in the univerſity of Paris, from which all other ſeminaries in different parts of Europe have borrowed moſt of their cuſtoms and inſtitutions; but as the uſe of the vernacular tongue would have been deemed a diſgrace to learning, all ſciences were, in the period under review, inculcated in Latin, a language that had been long conſecrated by monkiſh predilection to religion: that information, therefore, which might otherwiſe have advanced in a rapid progreſs, and flowed in a rich and diffuſive ſtream, was, by theſe means, confined within contracted bounds, and prevented, for ſeveral ages, from ſpreading itſelf throughout ſociety.

The

A. D. The knowledge of the dead, and of foreign, but living, languages, may ſoothe the pride of the linguiſt, but are inimical, in ſome reſpects, to works of fancy; as the time which muſt be neceſſarily conſumed in their acquirement, might have furniſhed the ſame genius, and the ſame patience, with a variety of new and uſeful reflections.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### THE REIGN OF PHILIP THE THIRD, THE HARDY.

The King of Sicily arrives immediately after the demiſe of Lewis—Philip the Hardy aſſumes the reins of government—Proceedings of the Cruſaders—A peace concluded—Philip departs for Sicily—The fatal effects of the expedition—His return to his capital, and coronation—Takes poſſeſſion of the territories of the late Count of Poitiers, and Jane, his conſort—Suppreſſes the diſturbances in the county of Toulouſe—Unites his ſecond ſon, Philip, to the heireſs of Navarre—Reſtores to the King of England the Agenois—The ſecond General Council of Lyons, and its regulations—Philip prepares to ſupport the Infants of de la Cerda, againſt the Caſtilian Monarch—Relinquiſhes his enterpriſe—Intrigues of his Court—Diverted from his Spaniſh war by the Pope and the revolution in Sicily—The Sicilian veſpers—The King of Arragon crowned at Palermo—The ill ſucceſs and death of Charles of Anjou—Philip penetrates into Catalonia—The

—The fatal end of that expedition—His death and character—The firſt letters of Nobility granted by this Prince—Admits clerks, or men of the law, into his Courts of Juſtice or Parliament. A. D.

THE death of Lewis was followed by a deep and ſincere regret: in him the Chriſtian world bewailed their martyr and their champion; the Clergy, their ſpiritual protector and defender; the Nobility, their pride and ſtrength; and the Army, a general, whoſe courage was as conſpicuous as was his humanity. Scarcely had this amiable Prince expired, when the King of Sicily arrived, with a ſtrong reinforcement, and with every neceſſary refreſhment that could adminiſter conſolation to the diſappointed as the dejected forces of his brother. Whether he accuſed himſelf of having, by his dilatory proceedings, urged on his fate; his heart, unaccuſtomed to feel for the miſeries of others, was penetrated with grief and remorſe, when he beheld the unfortunate Monarch extended upon the bier. 1270.

Having performed the neceſſary duties to the departed Sovereign, his ſon and ſucceſſor, Philip the Third, ſurnamed The Hardy, from his exploits againſt the Mahometan army at Tunis, aſſumed the reins of government, diſpatched a confirmation to the regency of a continuance of their adminiſtration; and having received the homage and the oaths of fealty from the Kings of Sicily and Navarre,

A. D. Navarre, for the poſſeſſions held by thoſe Potentates in France, and thoſe of the Nobility and Prelates then in Africa, he conſulted with them in what manner they ſhould proſecute the enterpriſe, which had been ſo impolitically projected by his father.

The opinions of the cruſaders were divided reſpecting the continuation of the war: the Moors and the Saracens aſſuming new courage from the death of Lewis, their hardihood increaſed in proportion to the unſettled councils of their opponents. Their camp, abundantly ſupplied with every neceſſary, and their numbers conſiderably augmented by the reinforcements of the perſons and the troops of uniting Kings,—each moment paſſed in bloody but unavailing ſkirmiſhes. Rouſed to action by the frequent inſults of the enemy, the King of Sicily took upon himſelf the command of the French forces in the abſence of his nephew, who, unable to exert himſelf, from the debilitated ſtate to which he was reduced by the prevailing malady, attacked and obtained many advantages over the Infidels. Having been at length joined by the young Monarch, ſeveral engagements enſued, and all equally ſucceſsful: but, while thus victorious, their numbers daily decreaſed, the contagion raged with its accuſtomed violence, and deſolated, with equal malignity, the contending armies.

While

While the cruſading Princes were deliberating whether they ſhould abandon their enterpriſe, the Tuniſian Sovereign, induced from the ſame motives, unexpectedly propoſed to them a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and an offer of peace, upon terms too advantageous to be rejected, in the deplorable ſituation to which they were reduced. The conditions conſented to were as favourable as could have been deſired in a more fortunate iſſue of their affairs: a truce was to be obſerved for ten years; the port of Tunis was to be exempted from thoſe exorbitant impoſts that had been exacted from Chriſtian merchants; all of that faith in confinement, were to be immediately releaſed, and the free exerciſe of their religion allowed to all ſuch as the miſſionaries ſhould be able to convert: the expences of the war, incurred by the French Monarch and the Nobles, were to be repaid; and the King of Sicily, who was ſuſpected of having held a private correſpondence with the enemy, was to receive double tribute from the King of Tunis, inſtead of that which he had been hitherto accuſtomed to tranſmit. Theſe conditions were in general faithfully executed on both ſides, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Edward, the heir of the Engliſh monarchy, who had joined the cruſaders ſoon after the death of Lewis. Philip, accompanied by that Prince and his Court, arrived in ſafety at Trapani, in Sicily; but his naval force, not ſo fortunate, encountered a dreadful ſtorm, in which he loſt A. D.

A. D. loſt a conſiderable part of his fleet, with a large portion of thoſe who had eſcaped the fate of their aſſociates on the African ſhores, beſides numbers who fell daily victims, after their landing, to the effect of this diſaſtrous enterpriſe.

Detained ſome time in Sicily by his affection for the King of Navarre, whoſe death he had the miſery to witneſs, the Gallic Monarch paſſed into Italy, where he had the misfortune to loſe his Queen; and from thence, after a long and melancholy journey, he arrived at length, in a ſtate of weakneſs and deſpondency, in his capital. The mind of Philip was too much abſorbed by affliction, and the remembrance of the loſſes which had taken place in his family, to permit him to partake of the tumultuous joy and the heart-felt gratulations that welcomed his return. In this unfortunate expedition, the laſt that took place, and the moſt fatal in its effects, he was deprived of his father, his queen, his brother, the Count of Nevers, and ſoon after, in conſequence of their ſufferings while in Africa, of Iſabel, his ſiſter, the conſort of the King of Navarre, and the Count and the Counteſs of Poitiers.

Diſcouraged by ſo much ill ſucceſs, the nation inſenſibly loſt its ardour for cruſades; and the Papal endeavours to re-animate its declining zeal, from henceforward became abortive. No longer ſupported by the Powers of Europe, the Chriſtians of Paleſtine were expoſed to the reſentment and fury

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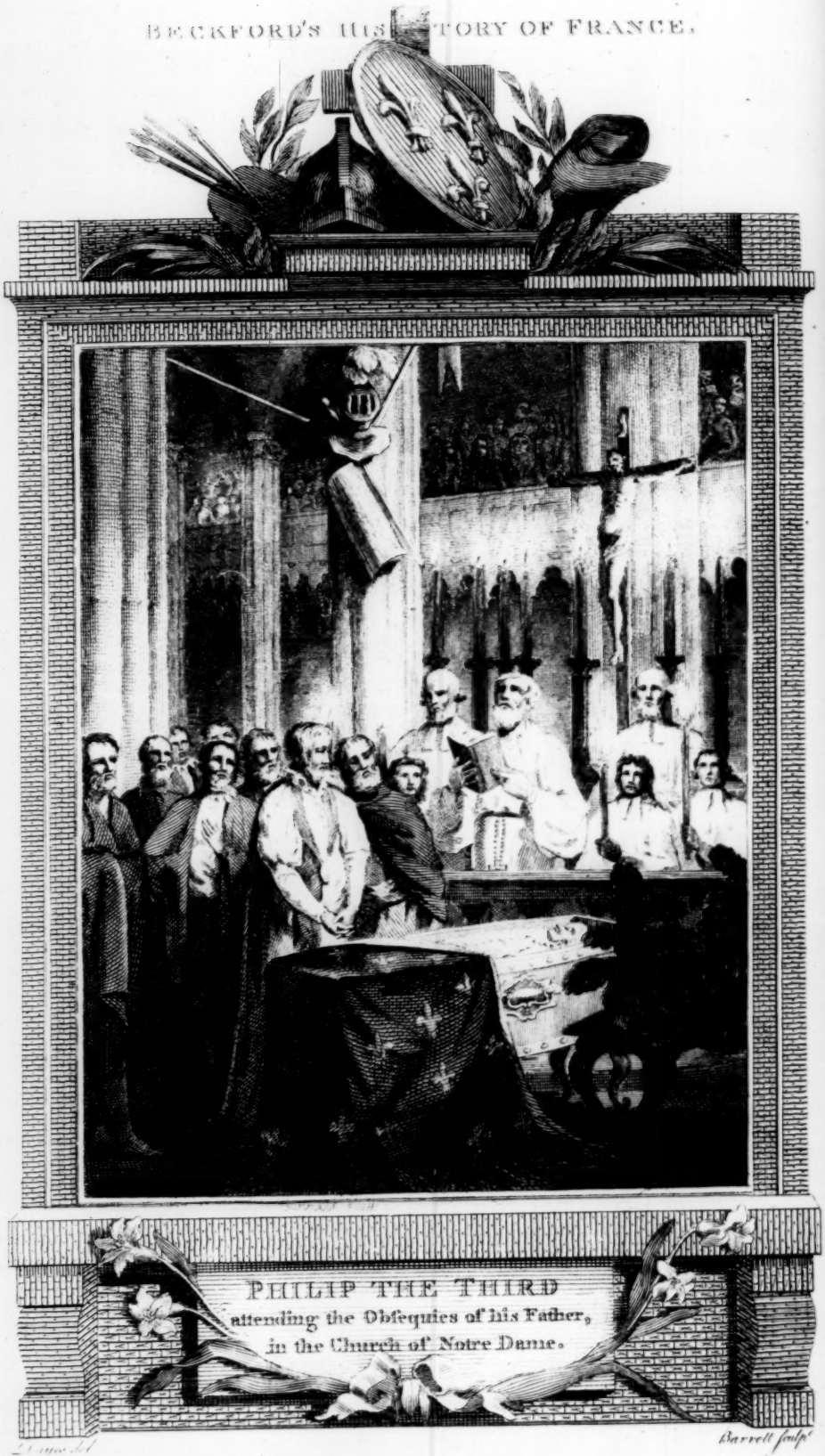

PHILIP THE THIRD
attending the Obsequies of his Father,
in the Church of Notre Dame.

Barrett sculp.

Published by J.S. Jordan, No. 166, Fleet Street, Oct.r 12.th 1793.

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fury of the Infidels; in the courſe of a few years, A. D.
Acre, with what remaining places they poſſeſſed in Aſia, were ſeized by the Mahometans; their effects plundered; and the miſerable inhabitants were either deſtroyed, or indiſcriminately ſcattered over the face of the earth.

Philip, with all due reverence and devotion, 1271.
performed in the church of Notre Dame, the obſequies of his father, and of thoſe illuſtrious perſons who had ſacrificed their lives in the holy warfare; and, after this ceremony, depoſited the remains of the departed monarch in the abbey church of Saint Denis. To this ſolemn duty, the laſt that the vanity of Kings is doomed to experience, and which reduces their mortal parts to a level with the clay of the meaneſt of their ſubjects, ſucceeded one of feſtivity and ſplendour, in his coronation, performed at Rheims by the Biſhop of Soiſſons, the archbiſhopric of that dioceſe being at that time vacant.

By the death of the Count of Poitiers, and his conſort, Jane, the heireſs, and the laſt remainder of the illuſtrious Counts of Thoulouſe, without poſterity, their ample poſſeſſions became re-annexed to the royal demeſnes, comprehending Poitou, Auvergne, Saintonges, and the county of Thoulouſe. Notwithſtanding the willing acquieſcence of the inhabitants of theſe territories to the authority of Philip, this Prince ſoon afterwards found himſelf involved in a war in the latter province,

A. D. ariſing from a diſpute between the Counts of Armagnac and Caſaubon. The firſt had recourſe to the ſupport of the Count of Foix; and the aſſiſtance of the Gallic Monarch was implored, to favour the pretenſions of the laſt. Anxious to diſcourage the right of private war, the King embraced with eagerneſs the party of his ſuppliant; and aſſembling the united force of his dominions, proceeded with ſuch rapidity and effect, as ſpeedily to allay the troubles, and compel the infractors of the public peace to ſurrender at diſcretion; and thus ſecured, by the timely intervention of his power, the future tranquillity of his government; being the only diſturbance he experienced during his reign, from the domeſtic diſſenſions of his vaſſals.

1274. The death of Henry, King of Navarre, who had ſucceeded his brother Alphonſo, afforded an opportunity to Philip of extending his influence, by an important alliance, which his political foreſight did not ſuffer him to neglect. That Prince had left an only daughter, then an infant, the heireſs of his dominions, under the regency of Blanch, his queen, with particular injunctions to prefer a connexion with the crown of France, rather than with thoſe of Arragon and Caſtile. The oppoſition of the Nobles induced her to retire to the Court of the Gallic Monarch, who, having with difficulty procured a diſpenſation from Gregory the Tenth, upon whom he had beſtowed the county

county of the Venaiſſan, to induce him perhaps A. D.
to comply with his wiſhes, united the youthful Sovereign to Philip, his ſecond ſon; and ſent a force into her kingdom, to oppoſe the Spaniſh factions.

Upon the death of Henry the Third of England, Edward, his ſon and ſucceſſor, in his return from the Holy Land, repaired to the capital of Philip, to render his homage for the lands he held of that Sovereign in France; and the Gallic King acknowledged his claims to the county of Agenois, and ſurrendered, without oppoſition, that territory to his poſſeſſion. It was about this time that he took for the partner of his throne, the beautiful Mary, the ſiſter of the Duke of Brabant; and in the ſame year he had an interview with Grègory, at Lyons, in which city that Pontiff had convened a general council, one of the moſt numerous that had ever been aſſembled. The French Monarch left behind him a conſiderable force, to protect them in their deliberations; where, among various decrees, taxes were impoſed upon the Gallican clergy, for the proſecution of the Holy War, which were rigorouſly exacted, although the expedition did not take place: regulations were made to prevent in future the dilatory proceedings in the election of a Pope, and which enacted, that, immediately upon the death of the Holy Father, the Cardinals ſhould aſſemble in the ſame apartment, where none ſhould be permitted to enter, nor from thence depart, with-

A. D. out the general conſent; and was the origin of the *conclave*, as expreſſive of a place in which ſeveral individuals were confined. If a ſucceſſor to the Papal Chair was not elected within three days after their ſecluſion, the ſix following days they were reſtricted to a ſingle diſh at their repaſts: upon the expiration of this period, if ſtill divided in opinions, they were not ſuffered any other ſuſtenance than bread, with wine and water, until a Pontiff ſhould be choſen. The ambaſſadors of Michael Paleologus attended this numerous convocation, to abjure the ſchiſm ſubſiſting between the Greek and the Latin churches, to accept the Romiſh mode of worſhip, and acknowledge the primacy of the Pope; a policy dictated by the formidable power of the Sicilian Monarch, and which ſubſiſted but ſo long as the arms of that Prince were thought redoubtable.

The royal Houſe of Suabia extinct—and the new Emperor not having any pretenſions to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; the Holy See was in conſequence not intereſted in oppoſing the preference given to Rodolph, Count of Hapſburg, the founder of the Auſtrian greatneſs, and who had been elevated two years before to the imperial dignity. Gregory, therefore, confirmed this election, upon his ſurrendering all claim to thoſe dominions, or to any territories that had been granted by former Emperors to the Papal power. Various other regulations were likewiſe ſettled by this

this council, reſpecting the reſidence of the clergy in their particular dioceſes, their elections, and other objects appertaining to the church. A. D.

The troops that had been ſent into Navarre, having effected the capture of Pampeluna, a conqueſt attended with many inſtances of ſavage barbarity, but a ſeverity which tended to procure the ſubmiſſion of that kingdom; Philip repaired thither in perſon, to proſecute a war, in favour of the claims of his nephews, againſt Alonzo the Tenth, the Sovereign of Caſtile. Upon the death of Ferdinand de la Cerda, the eldeſt ſon of that Prince, he had left by Blanch, the ſiſter of the Gallic King, two ſons, whoſe hereditary right to the throne of their grandfather was diſputed by Sancho, their uncle; and to whom Alonſo, as alſo the States of Segovia, had adjudged, after his demiſe, the ſucceſſion to the crown. Indignant at the injuſtice of the ſentence, the French Monarch proceeded with the flower of his Nobility, many illuſtrious volunteers, and a prodigious army, to Sauve-terre, in Bearn; but here, whether from treachery, or from an unpardonable want of forethought, this redoubtable force, that appeared adequate to the conqueſt of the kingdom, found itſelf, when aſſembled, deſtitute of every neceſſary to continue the campaign: —the winter approaching, the roads becoming daily more and more impaſſable, Philip was compelled to relinquiſh his enterpriſe, until the ſpring diſperſed his mighty armament, and retired, with 1276—82

A. D. no ſmall ſhare of diſgrace, once more to his capital.

The Count of Artois, in an interview with the King of Caſtile, for the purpoſe of negociation, was induced to ſuſpect that the councils of the French Monarch had been betrayed to that Prince; and this ſuſpicion brought on the inveſtigation of an affair, which, however trifling in itſelf, arreſted the attention of the kingdom, and plainly ſhewed the extreme credulity of the age. Peter de la Broſſe, a menial ſervant of Lewis the Ninth, had ſo much acquired the confidence of his ſon, that he had been employed in the moſt important concerns, and was elevated to the moſt dignified of the domeſtic offices about his Court; for ſuch was deemed that of the Chamberlain. This unworthy favourite, jealous of the aſcendancy obtained by the young Queen over the mind of Philip, endeavoured to leſſen her influence, by an inſinuation that the recent death of Lewis, his eldeſt ſon, had been occaſioned by poiſon, adminiſtered by his ſtep-mother. So much had this inſidious upſtart gained upon the paſſions of the King, that he iſſued orders to have her confined; and, in conſequence of the continued perſecution of the favourite, conſulted a woman, who, among others at that time, had the credit of divination; but unfortunately for la Broſſe, the anſwer was unfavourable to his cauſe. This event, with a letter intercepted ſoon afterwards, addreſſed to the King of Caſtile, confirmed

firmed his ruin: being ſeized, he was conveyed, A. D.
without the form of trial, to a gibbet, and there paid the forfeit of his treachery and his crimes.

While theſe intrigues were agitating the Court of Philip, the flight of the conſort of Alonſo, with the Infants de la Cerda, to the Court of Peter, the Arragonian monarch, revived the hopes of Blanch, their mother: but that Prince, jealous of the power of Philip, refuſed to deliver them to his protection; cloſely confined them to the caſtle of Xativa, in the province of Valencia; and entered into an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the King of Caſtile. The contending Sovereigns again prepared for war: the interference of the Pontiff induced them to forego their intentions; and the revolution in Sicily, in which the French had a more immediate intereſt, directed the politics of that nation to another quarter; and the claims of the ſons of Ferdinand to the Caſtalian throne, were for a time forgotten.

Charles of Anjou, odious to his Italian ſubjects, from the ſeverity of his government, and formidable to his neighbours, as well from his power as his boundleſs ambition, excited a jealouſy and diſguſt, which ended in a powerful confederacy to check the progreſs of his riſing greatneſs. With the title of Senator of Rome, and Vicar of the Empire, he exerciſed an authority almoſt abſolute, in Italy. He had purchaſed the rights of Mary, of Antioch, to the vain diſtinction of

A. D. King of Jeruſalem; and having given his daughter in marriage to Philip, the ſon of Baldwin, the dethroned Emperor of Conſtantinople, meditated an attack upon Michael Paleologus, the poſſeſſor of that dignity, to ſubſtantiate the claims of his ſon-in-law. His vaſt preparations alarmed the ſurrounding potentates: and Nicholas the Third, who then filled the pontifical chair, is accuſed, by the French writers, of having, in concert with Peter King of Arragon, laid the plan for his humiliation; which, although he did not live to ſee accompliſhed, was carried on, with ſucceſs, by John of Procida, a Sicilian nobleman, who prepared the minds of his countrymen for a revolt.

The Arragonian Monarch had eſpouſed Conſtance, the daughter of Mainfroy, the late King of Sicily; and had, in right of his conſort, an apparent claim to the crown of that kingdom. He had long preſerved a ſecret intelligence with the principal inhabitants of the iſland, through the means of Procida, and was ready with a large armament, which he pretended was meant to be directed againſt the Infidels, to ſupport the Sicilians, whenever their plans ſhould be ripe to attempt a reſtoration of their liberties. Charles, intent upon his expedition againſt the Greek Emperor, vainly warned of the intentions of his enemies, could not be perſuaded to ſuſpect their views; and ſecure, as he conceived, in his ſtrength, preſented his ſecret opponent with pecuniary aſ-

ſiſtance

ſiſtance for the further equipment of his naval force. A. D.

The meaſures of Procida were conducted with prudent arrangement, and preſerved with inviolable ſecrecy; but an accidental event intervened to accelerate their completion. On Eaſter Sunday, while the inhabitants of Palermo were preparing for the ſolemnity of the day, and the bells that were doomed to toll out the fate of thouſands of wretched ſufferers, were inviting the inhabitants to veſpers, Droquet, a Frenchman, paſſing by a young woman of exquiſite beauty, under pretence of ſearching for concealed arms, an order for that purpoſe having been iſſued, inſulted her perſon in a moſt indecent and ſcandalous manner. Inflamed at the ſight of this atrocious indignity, the relatives of the injured party flew to arms, ruſhed upon the inſulter, and ſtabbed him to the heart. In a moment the cry of "Liberty! and "maſſacre the French!" reſounded from all quarters: the general frenzy was ſpeedily caught; and, within the ſame day, every Frenchman and Provençal, the inſtruments of the cruelty of Charles, in the city, and in the neighbouring towns, fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the inſulted Sicilians. The vengeful deſtruction ſpread with rapidity over the iſland; and ſo furious were the natives, that they ſpared not even their own relations:—women, children, and all thoſe in any degree united to their oppreſſion, by the ties of conſanguinity, or by marriage, were indiſcriminately 1282.

A. D. nately given up to the ſword; ſo determined were they to eraze, if poſſible, the very name of the nation from the annals of their country. A dreadful vengeance; but a retribution to be expected from the paſſions of men inflamed, if we may credit the Sicilian hiſtorians, with a juſt reſentment at the unexampled exactions impoſed upon them, and the infliction of the moſt unmerited and perſevering cruelties!

The equity, the moderation, and the humanity of William of Porcelets, and Philip Scalambre, preſerved them from the indiſcriminate butchery of their countrymen; twenty-five thouſand of whom were the computed numbers taken off by a variety of torments: and great muſt have been that virtue which could, at ſuch a time, have arreſted the ſword ſo fatally crimſoned with Gallic blood!

Upon the news of this horrid maſſacre, Charles vowed eternal revenge, and threatened that he would leave to their poſterity, an example of his wrath ſo very dreadful, as ſhould effectually deter all future rebellions. His vengeance was as futile as his menace: repairing with the armament, deſtined to attack the Greek Emperor, to inveſt Meſſina, the city offered to capitulate; but the indignant Prince refuſed to grant them any terms. In the mean time, the Arragonian Monarch, accompanied by Conſtance and her ſons, the more natural claimants to the iſland, arrived in ſafety

at

at Palermo, in the midſt of ſincere and joyful acclamations. A. D. Peter, with his conſort, were there inveſted with the Sicilian crown; and the Angevin Prince, in expectation of an attack from the ſuperior forces of his rival, was reluctantly compelled to abandon his enterpriſe, and retire into Italy, after having ſuſtained, in his retreat to the Neapolitan ſhore, the loſs of a conſiderable portion of his navy.

Martin the Fourth, the ſucceſſor of Nicholas in the pontifical chair, eſpouſed the cauſe of Charles, and fulminated the thunders of the Vatican againſt the King of Arragon. The Gallic Monarch entered warmly into the reſentments of his uncle; and the French, dazzled by his martial character, with cheerfulneſs and alacrity ſeconded the zeal of their ſovereign, and joined, with numerous reinforcements, the Angevin Prince, upon the plains of St. Martin, in Calabria.

Amuſed by the romantic proffer of terminating their differences by a perſonal combat, Charles ſuffered the critical moment of attack to eſcape him. His delay enabled his rival to eſtabliſh himſelf more perfectly in his conqueſt, notwithſtanding a cruſade publiſhed againſt him by the Pope, who pretended, likewiſe, to diveſt him of his Arragonian dominions, in favour of Charles, Count of Valois, the ſecond ſon of the King of France. The excommunicated Monarch, in little dread of thoſe ſpiritual anathemas, ultimately completed the

A. D. the reduction of Sicily; inſulted the French in the harbour of Naples; captured a part of their fleet, with Charles the Lame, the ſon of his opponent; and excited a revolt in the city, which was only preſerved by the immediate arrival of its Sovereign, who, forgetful that to his cruelty might be attributed his misfortunes, ordered five hundred of the principal ringleaders to be executed; and was, with difficulty, prevailed upon to forego his intentions of reducing the city to aſhes.

1285. The tide of proſperity had now irrecoverably turned againſt the mortified Charles of Anjou: the capture of his ſon—the increaſing ſucceſs of his opponent—and, not unlikely, the compunction of his conſcience, which ſilently, but emphatically, whiſpered to him how much he deſerved his humiliation—induced a deep and ſettled melancholy, that he ſtrove ineffectually to overcome.

While he was awaiting the ſeaſon to renew his exertions, he was ſeized, at Foggia, with a fever, which terminated, in his ſixty-ſixth year, a life of iniquity and bloodſhed: or, if we may give credit to the prejudice of the Italian hiſtorians, his end was precipitated by the ignominious alternative of the halter; a death too mild, in the eye of juſtice, for the tyrannies he exerciſed, but a privation of exiſtence which is frequently the laſt reſort of the coward, and the end of humiliated pride, and diſappointed ambition!

This

This ſignal cataſtrophe encouraged the hopes of the King of Arragon. The commander of his naval force, Roger de Loria, ravaged with impunity the Neapolitan coaſts, and captured ſome places of importance; while Philip, in his ſplendid, but impracticable project, of placing his ſon upon the throne beſtowed by the Pope, with an immenſe armament penetrated into Catalonia; and, having been joined by the King of Majorca, the brother of Peter, his opponent, received the ſubmiſſion of the country through which he paſſed, and inveſted Gironna. The courage and talents of the governor, Raymond of Cardonna, were inadequate to oppoſe the numerous forces of the Gallic Monarch. After a long and a gallant defence, he ſurrendered to the better fortune of his aſſailants, with the ſatisfaction of having obtained not only an honourable capitulation, but likewiſe aſſured, that the critical procraſtination of the ſiege had enabled his Sovereign to ſecure his remaining poſſeſſions in Catalonia. A. D.

The campaign had hitherto favoured the arms of Philip. Charles, his ſon, aſſumed the ſtate of a ſovereign; and, by public declarations, confirmed the cuſtoms and the privileges of the Catalonians; when the French Monarch, induced by the attack of an epidemical diſorder that ſwept off a conſiderable portion of his army, was determined to repaſs the Pyrenean mountains, and await the ſpring for a renewal of hoſtilities.

Before

A. D. 1285. Before his departure, he imprudently ſuffered a part of his naval force to return to France: the enemy, who would not venture to attack his fleet when united, ſeized the favourable opportunity of its ſeparation, to deſtroy both diviſions; and Philip, deprived, by theſe means, of his reſources for the ſuſtenance of his army, was obliged to haſten his departure. Haraſſed, in his march, by the troops of the King of Arragon, who had ſecured the defiles of the mountains, and having loſt his baggage, he had the miſery to ſee his forces daily diminiſhed by famine and the ſword of the enemy. Overcome at length by the heat, the fatigue, and the inclemency of the air, he fell a prey to the languor they occaſioned; and, being placed upon a litter, with danger and with difficulty continued his ſlow and perilous retreat, purſued by the enemy, until he had nearly reached Perpignan, in which city, his malady continuing to increaſe, he expired, in the forty-firſt year of his age, and in the ſixteenth of his reign.

By his firſt queen, Iſabel, he had four ſons—Lewis, who died before him; Philip, his ſucceſſor; Charles, Count of Valois; and Robert. His ſecond conſort, Mary, brought him Lewis, Count of Evreux; Margaret, eſpouſed to Edward, the King of England; and Blanch, united to Rodolph, Duke of Auſtria.

This

This monarch acquired the name of the Hardy, A. D.
or the Bold, at the commencement of his reign; an appellation ill-ſuited to his martial proweſs, as there does not appear that, either in Africa, or in Spain, he performed any action of ſufficient importance to juſtify thoſe nominal diſtinctions. If we may be allowed to form an opinion, from the iſſue of his enterpriſes, his military talents, reviewed with impartiality, were much beneath the ſtandard of mediocrity.

So much had the education of this Prince been neglected, that he was ignorant of the common rudiments of literature; a fact to be deemed the more extraordinary, as his father has been diſtinguiſhed for his perſonal attainments, and commended for an attention uniformly and ſeduloufly paid to the future welfare of his family. His deficiency muſt, of conſequence, have proceeded from a mental incapacity, or a want of application, in his ſon.

Pious to auſterity, he was extolled by the Monks; a lover of decency, and of order, he conciliated the good opinion of his ſubjects; and ſuch praiſe is to be attributed to the moderation of his government, that, contrary to the turbulent reigns of his predeceſſors, we find him only once engaged in domeſtic warfare.

From a review of his general conduct, he appears to have been rather a weak, than a vicious prince; apt to yield to the impreſſions made, and

to

A. D. to be guided by the councils of others; and, if he had the ambition to form an enterprise, he had not sufficient ability to conduct it to a prosperous issue.

Fond of accumulating wealth, and of making a pecuniary advantage of usurers, whom he arbitrarily confined, or as meanly released, for a compensation in money; he let them loose to commit their depredations upon the public, and thus sanctioned the scandal that his sordid conduct had so justly merited.

He was the first monarch who granted letters of nobility, which he did, in the first instance, to Ralph the goldsmith; and who admitted into his court of justice, or parliament, clerks or reporters, chosen from the citizens and lower classes of the clergy, and which gave birth to a new order of men, under the appellation of persons of the long robe, or men of the law.

CHAP.

A. D.

# CHAPTER XXVIII.

## THE REIGN OF PHILIP THE FAIR.

The acceſſion and the coronation of Philip—Death of the King of Arragon—Succeſs of the Arragonian arms—Charles the Lame recovers his liberty—A temporary peace, which is ſoon afterwards followed by a rupture with the Crowns of France and England—Guienne ſurrendered to Philip—The Engliſh recover ſome places in that province—Edward enters into an alliance with Guy, Count of Flanders, and with the Emperor, which is counteracted by Philip—His treachery to Guy, and ſucceſs in Flanders—A truce—His miſunderſtanding with the Pope, who propoſes terms of peace to the rival Courts, which are rejected by Philip—The progreſs of the quarrel between the King and Boniface—The death of the latter—The Flemiſh war—The Count of Flanders ſeized, confined, and his territories declared forfeited to the Gallic Crown—The Flemings revolt—Their ſucceſs—The battle of Courtray—The progreſs of the war—Philip concludes a peace with the King of England—A truce with the Flemings—The death of the Count of Flanders—Hoſtilities recommenced—A peace—The Pontificate of Benedict the Eleventh—Clement the Fifth removes the ſeat of his government to Avignon—The riſe of the Republic of Switzerland, with the death of the Emperor—The ambition of Philip, and the ſubtlety of the Pope—Their proceedings againſt the Knights Templars, and the ſuppreſſion of their Order—Philip adjuſts his differences with the Engliſh Monarch—invades Flanders—His ill-ſucceſs—his public and domeſtic vexations—The death and character of Philip, with his civil and political regulations.

PHILIP, ſurnamed the Fair, from the graces of his perſon, commenced a reign fertile in events, 1285—6.

A. D. and marked by the civil and political regulations to which it gave birth, in the eighteenth year of his age. He had accompanied his father in his fatal expedition into Catalonia; and, having received his laſt ſighs, reconducted, in ſafety, his broken and diſpirited forces, from the hoſtile territories of the Arragonian monarch, into his own dominions. Repairing to Rheims, he received, from the hands of Peter Barbet, archbiſhop of that dioceſe, the royal unction, with Joan, his conſort, in whoſe right he annexed to the crown the kingdom of Navarre, with the extenſive demeſnes dependent upon the counties of Champagne and Brie.

The young Monarch, at his acceſſion to the throne, with an exhauſted exchequer, and a ruined army, found himſelf involved in an impolitic, as an unprofitable war, with the Sovereigns of Spain. Inexperienced and ambitious, he was not diſcouraged by the perplexed ſtate of his affairs; but undertook to reſtore the wreſted ſceptre of Caſtile to the Princes de la Cerda, and to compel the revolted Sicilians to return to their obedience to the Houſe of Anjou; enterpriſes as bold as they were found to be impracticable.

Upon the retreat of the French troops, the King of Arragon recovered, with Gironna and Caſtalon, all that had been torn from his dominions by the firſt ſucceſſes of the late King; and, animated by his favourable turn of fortune, prepared to humble his

his two moſt formidable opponents—the Gallic Monarch, and the ſovereign Pontiff, when a ſudden death terminated the vaſt deſigns he had conceived, and left to his ſons the conduct of his meditated plans. A.D.

Alonſo, the eldeſt, whom he appointed his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Arragon; and James, to whom he left his recent conqueſt of Sicily; were not deficient in their endeavours to retain, and to augment, their newly-acquired poſſeſſions. Languedoc experienced the firſt fury of their arms. Roger de Loria, the commander of the expedition, landing in that province, defeated an army of 30,000 men, aſſembled to oppoſe his progreſs; and, having ſacked or burned ſeveral cities, and laid waſte the country, retired to Barcelona, laden with ſpoil. Equally fortunate in Italy, againſt the naval force of the Count of Artois, the Regent of the Angevin poſſeſſions, during the captivity of Charles the Lame; the perſevering admiral ravaged with impunity the Neapolitan coaſts; and James, King of Sicily, making himſelf maſter of ſome important places in Calabria, beſieged Gaeta.

The ſucceſs of their arms inclined the French Monarch to liſten to the interference of Edward, King of England, who had repaired to Paris to recover the county of Xaintonge, which he claimed in virtue of a treaty entered into between his father, Henry, and Lewis the Ninth. His rights were admitted; and, having performed the accuſ-

A. D. tomed homage for his poſſeſſions in France, he endeavoured to promote, with the liberation of Charles the Lame, a general peace. His perſeverance, after a tedious negociation, effected the firſt of theſe events, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Pontiff, Honorius, and his ſucceſſor, Nicholas the Fourth, who exerciſed an uncontrouled authority over the dominions of the captive Prince, and which they were not readily inclined to relinquiſh.

For the reſtoration of his liberty, Charles engaged to procure a laſting peace between the Crowns of France and Arragon, to perſuade the Count of Valois to relinquiſh his claim to the latter kingdom, and to prevail upon the Pope to withdraw his interdict from the conteſted dominions: but, ſhould he fail in the performance of theſe articles, he bound himſelf to deliver up his perſon again, within three years, into the hands of his enemies; and, in the mean time, as a pledge of his faith, he ſurrendered, to the Arragonian Monarch, his two ſons, with ſixty Provençal knights, and paid him the ſum of fifty thouſand livres.

1287—90 Charles, upon the recovery of his liberty, found himſelf unable, or, encouraged by the Pope and the French Monarch, unwilling to fulfil the terms upon which he had obtained it. All parties again reſumed their arms, and ſpent their force in ſanguinary, as unavailing encounters; when the

the firmneſs of the King of England, who conceived his honour concerned in the completion of the late treaty, obliged the contending Princes to conclude a truce for two years. The Count of Valois, as a recompence for a kingdom he could not hope to gain, received, with the daughter of Charles the Lame, the provinces of Anjou and Maine: and the Count of Artois, diſguſted at the concluſion of this buſineſs, retired, with the French troops, diſſatisfied, into France; and Philip, who had before adjuſted his diſpute with the King of Caſtile, reſpecting the claims of the Infants de la Cerde, whoſe cauſe he had found it his intereſt to abandon, was by no means diſpleaſed that a peace was at length eſtabliſhed. A. D.

This interval of tranquillity was, however, but of ſhort duration: a private diſpute became the ſource of public vengeance, and called forth the arms and activity of the rival Monarchs of France and England.—Two ſailors, one a Roman, the other a Gaſcon, the latter a ſubject of the Engliſh crown, entered into an altercation at the Port of Bayonne, and proceeded to blows: the former, unable to cope with his adverſary, drew his dagger, and, in an attempt to ſtab him, fell upon his inſtrument, and died of his wound: his aſſociates carried their complaints to the throne of their Sovereign, who, without any inveſtigation of the affair, bade them ſeek their own revenge. Repriſals were made, and a maritime war commenced 1292—5.

A. D. between both nations, attended with inſtances of the moſt deliberate barbarity. Becoming, at length, too ſerious for the Sovereign of either kingdom to remain an unconcerned ſpectator, their reſpective ambaſſadors were directed to demand a reſtitution. Various negociations were ſet on foot, to accommodate the diſputes, but without effect; and the King of England, as Duke of Guienne, was ſummoned to anſwer for his conduct before the Court of Peers, at Paris.

Occupied by his intereſted views againſt the Scottiſh Crown, and anxious to prevent a final rupture with France, Edward diſpatched his brother, Edmund Earl of Lancaſter, who had eſpouſed the dowager Queen of Navarre, the mother of the conſort of Philip, to the Court of that Prince, to endeavour, by conciliatory means, to terminate the miſunderſtanding. The latter Princeſs, with Mary, the ſtep-mother of the Gallic Monarch, pretended to interpoſe her good offices. They perſuaded the King of England, that Philip, offended at his ſub-vaſſals of Guienne, and at his non-appearance to his citation, merely required, as a ſatisfaction to his honour, that the above-mentioned province ſhould be ceded to his poſſeſſion; that a ſafe conduct ſhould be granted to Edward as far as Rheims, where his rival having been ſatisfied of theſe conceſſions, a peace ſhould be permanently eſtabliſhed, and thoſe territories again reſtored.

The

The French Monarch having ſolemnly ſworn to adhere to this ſingular treaty, Edward conſented; but Philip had no ſooner become the poſſeſſor of Guienne, than he diſavowed the whole tranſaction; renewed the citation; and, upon the failure of a perſonal attendance in the King of England, adjudged, by a formal ſentence, all thoſe dominions forfeited, and annexed to the Gallic crown. A. D.

A procedure ſo highly reflecting upon the integrity of the royal word, notwithſtanding the pains that have been taken by the French hiſtorians to ſoften the tranſaction, and which they fairly admit upon the teſtimony of the Engliſh writers, enraged the incautious Monarch of England. Juſtly aſhamed of the little penetration he had diſcovered throughout the whole tranſaction, and ſenſible of the difficulties he ſhould encounter to recover his ceded territories, he endeavoured, by ſtrengthening his alliances, to compenſate for his credulity; and commenced hoſtilities againſt his inſidious rival.

The Earl of Richmond, his nephew, with a numerous fleet, made a ſucceſsful deſcent upon the iſland of Rhé: the country was given up to the flames, and the inhabitants were cut off by the ſword. From thence, directing his courſe to the Garonne, he made an eaſy conqueſt of Blaye, Bourge, Réole, and Saint Severe; intercepted the communication of Bourdeaux with the ſea; and, regaining the ocean, obtained the poſſeſſion of

A. D. Bayonne. To the affection borne by the Gaſcons to the Engliſh government, may be, in ſome meaſure, attributed theſe rapid ſucceſſes; but the advantages that might have reſulted from ſo favourable a circumſtance, were rendered abortive by the miſconduct of their officers.

1296. The Conſtable of France, Rodolph de Neſle, in his route from Bourdeaux, to effect a junction with the French army, commanded by Charles of Valois, made himſelf maſter, by capitulation, of the ſmall fortreſs of Podençay: the terms were favourable to the Engliſh; but the Gaſcons, who had formed a conſiderable part of the garriſon, were leſt to the diſcretion of the victor, and fifty were ſentenced, as rebels, to an ignominious death: a ſeverity that intimidated their nation; produced an irreparable diſguſt to the cauſe they had eſpouſed; and La Réole, with ſeveral other places, was recovered by the French general.

A conſiderable naval armament, under the command of Matthew de Montmorency, and John of Harcourt, made a deſcent upon the coaſt of England; burned a part of the town of Dover; but limited their vengeance to this trifling enterpriſe—while an Engliſh ſquadron, proceeding in the ſame inefficient manner, anchored before Cherburg—plundered the town and abbey; and, without purſuing their ſucceſs, retired with the ſpoils which they had obtained.

Edward

Edward had, in the mean time, levied forces to A. D.
recover the duchy of Guienne; but had been obliged to employ them againſt the Welſh: and, informed of a recent treaty entered into by John Baliol, King of Scotland, with the French Monarch, he led a powerful army into that kingdom, where, having without difficulty compelled the principal cities to a ſubmiſſion, and obtained the perſon of his opponent, he returned, with his royal captive, in triumph to his capital, to prepare for more deciſive meaſures againſt the troops of Philip.

Upon the death of the Earl of Lancaſter, who had been ſucceſsful in his different encounters with the French forces near Bourdeaux, Robert, Count of Artois, recovered the advantages that had been gained by that Prince: and the Engliſh Monarch, foreſeeing that it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to get poſſeſſion of the ancient patrimony of his family, by a direct attack in that province, entered into an alliance with John, Count of Hainault, and Guy, Count of Flanders, to unite, in another quarter, in an invaſion of the dominions of Philip; flattering himſelf that, with ſuch auxiliaries, and with the aſſiſtance of the Emperor Adolphus, the Duke of Brabant, and other German allies, he ſhould be enabled to carry the war into the centre of the kingdom, make Philip tremble for the ſafety of his capital, and induce him to relinquiſh thoſe territories of which he had been diſpoſſeſſed

A.D. diſpoſſeſſed by ſo inſidious and diſhoneſt an artifice.

The reſources of the Gallic Monarch were, however, adequate to the preparations of his enemies. Having gained the ſupport of Albert, Archduke of Auſtria, that Sovereign drew the Princes of Germany into a confederacy againſt the Emperor, which deprived him of his life and crown; and having obtained for himſelf the vacant dignity, gave leiſure to Philip to proſecute with vigour his reſentment againſt the Count of Flanders, the moſt powerful ally of Edward.

In conſideration of a projected union between his daughter, and Edward, Prince of Wales, Guy had, ſome time before this late treaty with the King of England, ſecretly engaged to ſupport the arms of that Prince. This intended alliance had not been conducted with ſo much ſecrecy, as to elude the ear of the French Monarch, who had inveigled the unſuſpecting Count, with his conſort, to his court; had arreſted, and confined them to the Louvre, upon a pretence, founded in the practice of the feudal law, that no vaſſal had a right to diſpoſe of his children in marriage, without the conſent of his ſuperior lord. The ſurrender of the daughter into the hands of Philip, obtained the liberty of her parents. The exaſperated Count returned into his dominions, bent upon vengeance for the inſults he had received; and having ineffectually demanded the reſtoration of his daughter,

ter, who ſhortly afterwards died in her confinement, A. D.
openly renounced his allegiance.

Philip was not of a temper to ſuffer this conduct 1297.
to paſs by unreſented. Departing from Compiegne, with a conſiderable force, he diſperſed the troops that diſputed his entrance into Flanders; deſolated the country as far as the walls of Liſle, and inveſted that city. The ſtrength of the fortifications of that place, with its ample garriſon, enabled it to make a vigorous reſiſtance; but diſheartened, at length, by the rapid ſucceſſes of the detachments of the French troops, commanded by the Conſtable and the Count of Artois, who had defeated the Flemings at Comines, upon the river Lis; had taken Furnes, Caſſel, and other important fortreſſes;—the inhabitants of the town entered into a ſecret treaty with the King, and ſubmitted themſelves, without ſtipulation, to his will and clemency. Robert, the governor, the ſon of the Count of Flanders, thus abandoned, was conſtrained to ſeek his ſafety in a precipitate retreat; and the French Monarch, notwithſtanding the arrival of the King of England, with reinforcements to ſuccour his ally, purſued his ſucceſs with the capture of Courtray and Bruges. By declaring himſelf the ſupporter of the Commons in the principal cities in Flanders, he fomented the differences between the Flemings and their Sovereign; excited a revolt in Ghent, in which Edward, the Engliſh Monarch, had nearly become the victim;

A. D. victim; and prepared to advance to that city—when he was withheld by the envoys of that Prince, who requeſted a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities. A negociation took place; a truce was mutually agreed upon; and the terms of peace were left to be determined by the arbitration of the Pope, Boniface the Eighth.

This haughty and ambitious prelate, the laſt who pretended to diſpoſe of crowns, and whoſe fatal end induced his ſucceſſors in the pontifical chair to abandon the exorbitant pretenſions he had aſſumed over the temporal juriſdiction of Princes, had been ſome years engaged in a diſpute with the Gallic Monarch. The commencement of this famous rupture, the moſt remarkable event of the reign under review, had ariſen from a bull, iſſued by the Pope, forbidding any ſovereign to levy taxes upon the clergy of their dominions, and which Philip conceived to refer, in a particular manner, to himſelf. Being then engaged in an expenſive war, he was unwilling that the moſt opulent order of the State ſhould be exempted from contributing to the wants of the crown; and oppoſed this ſtretch of papal power by an edict, which prohibited the French eccleſiaſtics from ſending out of the kingdom, gold, ſilver, or valuables of any denomination, and which alluded to the heavy exactions impoſed by the Court of Rome upon the Gallican church.

This

This ordonnance drew other bulls from the exaſperated Boniface, which were anſwered by manifeſtos, equally ſpirited, from the French Court—when the imperious Pontiff, finding that Philip was ſtrongly ſupported by the ſpiritual power of the kingdom, began to relax in his papal encroachments: and the miſunderſtanding was ſo far adjuſted, that the Pope, to conciliate the good will of that Sovereign, conſented to canonize his grandfather, Lewis; a ceremony performed in France with great magnificence and rejoicing! and the King accepted him as a mediator, to effect terms of pacification with the Crown of England. A. D.

After ſeveral conferences, held with the delegates of the reſpective Courts, it was at length decreed, by the papal interference, that peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon the following conditions: With the reſtoration of Guienne, Edward was to take, for the partner of his throne, Margaret, the ſiſter of Philip; his ſon, the Prince of Wales, was to eſpouſe Iſabel, the daughter of the Gallic King, who were both at that time infants; thoſe veſſels, with their effects, taken at the commencement of the war, were to be reſtored by either nation, or an amicable compenſation made, to indemnify the loſs ſuſtained by individuals; and finally, reſtitution was to be tendered to the Count of Flanders, of thoſe towns that had been wreſted from his territories, by the arms of Philip. The latter part of the treaty the French Monarch indignantly rejected; 1298.

A. D. rejected: he consented to prolong the truce, but refused any longer to submit to the interposition of the Pontiff; and the dispute that had been for a while suspended between himself and Boniface, was revived with augmented violence. Various causes contributed to heighten their mutual disgust. The strict alliance entered into by the Gallic Monarch, with the Emperor, Albert of Austria, whose elevation the Pope had refused to sanctify, with the protection afforded in France to the Lords of Colonna, who had been driven, by the implacable resentment of the Holy Father, from the papal territories, were highly resented by the Apostolical Vicar; while the appointment of a Legate to the Court of France, in the person of Bernard Saisseti, Bishop of Pamiers, who had rebelled against the King in that diocese, was just ground of complaint on the part of Philip.

An obnoxious subject, invested with a dignity of so elevated a nature, with the personal insolence of this Prelate to his Sovereign, whom he threatened with the thunders of the Vatican, could not fail to arouse the indignation of the King. Bernard was seized, accused of treasonable practices against the State, and committed to the safeguard of his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Narbonne; and the French Monarch, to excuse the measures that he had been compelled to adopt, dismissed his Chancellor, Peter de la Flotte, to the Papal Court, to soften the impending resentment of

of the Pontiff. Enraged at the confinement of his nuncio, the Pope iſſued an order to the higher dignitaries of the church, and to the doctors of civil and canon law, under pain of excommunication, to repair to the Court of Rome, to conſult upon, and to deviſe ſalutary meaſures for the correction of eccleſiaſtical abuſes, and for the better regulation of the dominions of Philip. Setting no bounds to the extravagant frenzy with which he had been ſeized, he announced that the ſovereign Pontiff, "as the Vicar of Chriſt, was veſted with "full authority over all the kings and kingdoms "of the earth, to diſperſe, to deſtroy, and to "elevate." A. D.

Theſe bulls, and menaces, delivered to Philip by another ſubject of his realm, were committed to the flames; and the clergy of his dominions were expreſsly forbidden to obey the mandates of the Pontiff: forty of that body, in deſpite of the royal orders, left the kingdom; and the Sovereign, exaſperated at their diſobedience, ſeized upon their temporal poſſeſſions. While Boniface was conſulting with his council, in what manner he ſhould next proceed, the politic Prince aſſembled the States, the firſt time the repreſentatives of cities were regularly ſummoned to aſſiſt in a general deliberation; and, having laid before them the unjuſtifiable meaſures that had been purſued by the Pope, obtained their full and unanimous acknowledgment of his ſole and independent ſovereignty over

A. D. over his own dominions, with an abſolute diſ-
avowal of the Papal claim; and, as if actuated by one ſpirit, letters were written by the three Orders, ſubſcribed by the principal perſons of the nation, and remitted to the Apoſtolic Chair, expreſſive of their recent determinations.

This unanimous concordance in every member of the community, alarmed the arrogant Pontiff; but was not of ſufficient efficacy to induce him to deſiſt from his extravagant enterpriſe; and Philip, informed of his intrigues to transfer his crown to the Emperor, with his intentions to proceed to extremities, and doubtful what might be the conſequences of a protracted diſpute, was at length determined, by a deciſive blow, to render all his plans abortive.

1303. William de Rogaret, a celebrated lawyer, and who had, in a late meeting of the principal Clergy and Barons of France, publicly accuſed the Pope of ſimony, ſacrilege, magic, and other enormities, undertook, with one of the Lords of Colonna, to ſurpriſe the Pontiff, and to conduct him to Lyons, where the King doubted not but his influence would be ſufficiently powerful to obtain, in a general council in that city, his depoſition, and the election of a ſucceſſor, with deſigns leſs inimical to his authority. Paſſing into Tuſcany, his agents ſecretly and ſpeedily aſſembled a body of mercenary troops, with which they repaired to Anagni, the birth-place of Boniface, whither he had retired; and, entering

entering the town at the dawn of day, made themſelves maſters of the perſon and the treaſures of the unfortunate Prelate; before it had been poſſible for him to prepare for his ſafety, either by flight or reſiſtance. His firmneſs and intrepidity, when in the hands of his enemies, awakened the veneration of the inhabitants: they were arouſed to arm in his cauſe, and reſcued him from his confinement. Upon the recovery of his liberty, he departed for the ſeat of his government, overwhelmed with reſentment and vexation. Afflicted by the perſonal inſults to which he had been compelled to ſubmit, and the irreparable pecuniary loſs he had ſuſtained, he fell a victim to his deſpondency; and expired in a few days after his arrival in his capital, a woeful example of humbled pride, and of diſappointed and unhallowed ambition. A. D.

During the courſe of theſe events, the attention of Philip had been likewiſe engaged by the war in Flanders. Upon the expiration of the truce,* he had diſmiſſed his brother, the Count of Valois, with a well-diſciplined army, into that province. The Flemiſh cities were at that time rich and populous, but divided by internal diſſenſions. A divided people muſt be ever incapable of a vigorous defence—Douay, Bethune, Dam, opened their gates to the French forces: their Sovereign, ſhut up in Ghent, and convinced of the ſecret intelligence held by its inhabitants with the Gallic army, had recourſe to the generoſity of Charles, Upon *1299.

A. D. the faith of his promiſe—that, if within a year, he ſhould be unable to obtain an accommodation with Philip, he ſhould be at liberty to return in ſafety to his capital—he was prevailed upon to accompany the Count, attended by his two elder ſons, and forty Flemiſh Nobles, to the Court of the Gallic Monarch; but here he had to lament that he had not made better terms for his perſonal ſecurity. The King, inſtigated, as it is ſaid, by the Queen and the Count of Artois, refuſed to ratify a treaty that he alledged had been concluded without his conſent: the unfortunate Guy, with his followers, was confined in the city of Compiegne; and his ſons, Robert and William, condemned to a ſolitary impriſonment, one in the caſtle of Chinón, and the latter in a fortreſs of Auvergne.

The Count of Valois, diſguſted at the diſhonourable termination of this affair, retired into Italy, whither he had been ſome time before invited by the Pope; and Boniface, although at that time at variance with Philip, appointed him Vicar of the Empire, Governor of the Eccleſiaſtical States, and, by flattering his ambition with the hope of raiſing him to the Imperial throne of Conſtantinople, or of Germany, prevailed upon him to ſuſtain the principal weight of the war in which he was then engaged, againſt Frederick, King of Sicily. Without performing any event of conſequence, Charles continued two years in Italy, when he was recalled by the French Monarch, in conſequence

quence of his increaſing animoſity againſt the Papal See; and which, as we have before related, terminated ſo fatally to the views and ambition of the enterpriſing Pontiff. A. D.

Having declared the territories of the Count of Flanders forfeited to the crown—Philip, with his Queen, repaired to the conquered province,* to receive the homage and obedience of their Flemiſh ſubjects. Welcomed by the acclamations of the populace, and entertained with a profuſion of expence and magnificence, they obtained the popularity they had been at the pains to court; but the inconſtant, as jealous Flemings, whatever might have been the real or aſſumed reſpect and ſubmiſmiſſion with which they had received their new Sovereign, were not much diſpoſed to place a confidence in his appointed Governor, James Chatillon, Count of Saint Paul. He renewed the impoſitions that had been withdrawn; treated the complaints of the inhabitants with rigour and with inſult; erected, at their expence, citadels in the principal cities; and, by meaſures as impolitic as oppreſſive, rendered his adminiſtration ſo very obnoxious, that the people of Bruges, headed by Peter le Roy, a weaver, were inſtigated to a revolt. Aſſiſted by the interference of the magiſtrates, Chatillon was enabled to calm the tumult; and the ringleader, with his principal aſſociates, was baniſhed. The ſeverity with which he proceeded againſt the inhabitants of Bruges, induced

*1302.

A. D. them to recall le Roy: his return was conducted with ſecrecy and ſucceſs; he ſurpriſed and captured the city; and Ghent, upon the ſurrender of ſeveral towns of importance, followed their example.

By the means of a French faction, Chatillon recovered Ghent; Bruges was ſurrendered to him by capitulation; but the terms were diſregarded; and the inhabitants, appriſed of his meditated plans of vengeance, had again recourſe to the courage and addreſs of their popular leader. Seven thouſand exiles were led, in the ſilence of the night, to the walls of the town, by the prudent and intrepid weaver; the gates were forced; all thoſe found upon the ramparts, or who oppoſed their progreſs in the ſtreets, were devoted to the ſword; poſſeſſed of the principal avenues of the town, the fatal word was given. The French, ignorant of the pronunciation as the meaning of their language, were diſcovered in their attempts to paſs the gates; and ſeventeen thouſand, maſſacred by a variety of torments, fell unhappy victims to the ungovernable reſentment of a frantic, but an injured multitude. Chatillon, the author of theſe evils, who ought, in juſtice, to have been the ſacrifice, diſguiſed in the habit of a prieſt, had the good fortune to eſcape the mercileſs ſword of the victor.

The effects of this maſſacre were as deplorable in their conſequences, as the event had in itſelf been dreadful. Encouraged by the younger ſons of

of their late Sovereign, who had retired to Ramur, upon the captivity of their father, the Flemings unanimouſly appointed their nephew, William of Juliers, to the command of a numerous army, which they had diligently aſſembled. Their confidence was not abuſed: he led them from victory to victory: every place in the vicinity of Bruges, ſurrendered to his arms. Furnes, Bergues, Vindale, were not in a ſituation to oppoſe his progreſs: joined by Guy, with a detachment of German horſe, he purſued his ſucceſsful career; and Courtray, Oudenarde, and Ypres, were compelled to acknowledge his ſuperior fortune. A. D.

Neither idle, nor diſcouraged, the Gallic Monarch raiſed an army of ſeven thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, the command of which was given to Robert, Count of Artois, at that time conſidered the moſt able general of the age, but of a diſpoſition iraſcible, impetuous, and unjuſt; an inveterate enemy to the Flemings; and to whoſe influence and advice were attributed many of thoſe unjuſtifiable meaſures that were adopted during the reign of Philip. Impelled by his reſentments, he took not any of thoſe precautions which prudence would have ſuggeſted; but advanced to meet the forces of his opponent, advantageouſly poſted between Bruges and Courtray, but without cavalry; and almoſt without arms. Rejecting the better counſel of the Conſtable, to cut off their ſupplies of proviſions, rather than attack them in

A. D. a poſition ſo advantageous and inacceſſible; he diſdained to temporiſe with an army which he conſidered as no more than a diſorderly populace; and commanded his troops to engage. The miſplaced confidence of the French became their ruin. In their eagerneſs to aſſail the enemy, they forgot, or were not appriſed of, a dike, with deep borders, which ſerved as a rampart in the front; and twenty thouſand, without the power to make uſe of their arms, either ſtifled or drowned, became unfortunate victims to the temerity of their leader. The Count himſelf, the Conſtable, the Chancellor De la Flotte, Chatillon, Count of Paul, and an immenſe proportion of the Nobility, contributed to ſwell the the triumph of the Flemings; who, rather the ſpectators than the actors in this extraordinary ſcene, paſſed the canal over the bodies of the dead, and providing themſelves with the weapons of
* July 11, 1302. their enemies, purſued, ſlaughtered, and diſperſed the remainder of the army. *

A general conſternation pervaded all ranks of people, ſo ſoon as the news of this memorable defeat arrived in France. There were but few families of conſequence in the kingdom who had not cauſe to lament the loſs of ſome valued relative; but Philip, by nature violent as uncontroulable, incapable of partaking of the common affliction, and irritated beyond all former bounds, ſought to compenſate the diſgrace of his arms, by overwhelming his ſubjects with new impoſitions to proſecute his

his favourite as futile enterpriſe. His reſolutions A. D.
were ſuffered to cool—he commanded the provinces to aſſemble their forces, and every individual to contribute his aſſiſtance. To ſupply the vacuity of his exchequer, he had recourſe to heavy and unaccuſtomed taxes; he did not alter the weight of the coin, but advanced its value one third; an unpopular meaſure, that juſtly excited murmurs throughout his dominions; and by theſe reſources, however ruinous to his people, he was enabled to aſſemble an army of eighty thouſand men. With a force ſufficient to have annihilated the Flemings, he formed his camp between Arras and Douay; but, by ſome ſingular infatuation, this immenſe armament was ſuffered to remain inactive, until the autumnal rains compelled him to finiſh, before it could with propriety be ſaid to have begun, an inglorious and diſgraceful campaign.

Encouraged by his departure, the Flemings poured into the county of Artois; cities, towns, villages, were pillaged, and conſigned to the flames. Attacked in their retreat, they were purſued with conſiderable ſlaughter; and the capture and the ſack of Teruanne afforded them but a trifling compenſation for the diſgrace of their arms in their various rencounters with the Conſtable, Gaucher, of Chatillon.

It was at this juncture that Philip, engaged by 1303.
his diſpute with the See of Rome, the progreſs of which, with the fatal end of Boniface, that we

A. D. might not divide the attention of our readers, we have before related;—and, embaraſſed by his ill ſucceſs in Flanders, as with the knowledge of the ſecret intelligence that many powerful Nobles of his kingdom held with that nation, was induced to bring the negociations, ſo many years pending between the King of England and himſelf, to a final termination. Occupied in the ſame intereſted purſuit againſt the Scottiſh and Flemiſh Sovereigns, both Monarchs had abandoned the ſupport of their allies; and the treaty ſo long ſuſpended, was finally concluded by the reſtitution of Guienne, and the homage of the King of England for thoſe territories.

1303—4. The Flemings, ſtill bent upon the reſtoration of their liberties, inveſted Tournay; and, notwithſtanding the loſs of three thouſand men, in two unſucceſsful ſallies, perſiſted in this arduous undertaking. Exaſperated at their perſeverance, Philip again aſſembled his army, and advanced towards Peronne; but, prevailed upon by the entreaties of Amadæus, Count of Savoy, or diſcouraged by the obſtinacy of his opponents, he conſented to a truce for eight months; and returned into France a ſecond time, if not with diſgrace, yet without reaping any advantages from the preparations he had made. Aware of the difficulties he had yet to encounter, againſt a brave people, tenacious of their liberty, he endeavoured, during the ceſſation of hoſtilities, to effect by negociation that which his

his power had failed to accompliſh. With this A. D.
intent he diſmiſſed his venerable captive into
Flanders, in the expectation that the Flemings
might be induced, by the perſuaſions of their So-
vereign, to relinquiſh the reſiſtance they had hi-
therto made to his arms. Elated by the recent
ſucceſs of the ever-memorable battle of Courtray,
they diſdained the ſubmiſſion required; and the
unfortunate Count, in deſpair at the ill ſucceſs of
his undertaking, was compelled to repair again to
his priſon at Compiegne, fearful of the fate of his
ſons, whoſe heads were doomed to anſwer for the
failure of his return, and died a few months after
in his chains, a victim to his engagements, and a
ſignal example of the treachery and inhumanity of
Philip.

At the expiration of the truce, both parties 1304.
were again in arms to decide their pretenſions. To
ſuccour his ally, John, Count of Hainault, then
at war with the Flemings, the Gallic Monarch
equipped a fleet, compoſed principally of galleys,
obtained from the Genoeſe, and commanded by
Regnier di Grimaldi, who obtained a deciſive
victory over the forces of his opponents, and cap-
tured their leader, Guy, the ſon of the late Count
of Flanders. To ſecond this ſucceſs, Philip, at
the head of ſixty-two thouſand men, with his bro-
thers, the Counts of Valois and Evreux, entered
the territories of the Flemings, and encamped be-
tween Liſle and Douay, near Mons en Puelle, or
Pevele,

A. D. Pevele, and nearly in the view of the oppoſing army, commanded by Philip, another ſon of the late unfortunate Count.

The wary Fleming, unprovided with cavalry to reſiſt the frequent ſallies of the French troops, and unwilling to riſk a general engagement, acted, for a while, entirely upon the defenſive; but the ardour of his countrymen was not to be reſtrained by the prudent plans of their leader. Impelled to engage, he directed his movements with ſo much ſecrecy and vigour, that he ſurpriſed the camp of his adverſaries—cut down all that oppoſed his progreſs—penetrated to the royal tent, as the King was preparing to partake of his evening repaſt, and would inevitably have become maſter of his perſon, had he been known by thoſe by whom he was encountered. Hemmed in on every ſide, the Gallic Monarch ſignalized himſelf by extraordinary acts of valour—when he was relieved from the inequality of numbers, by the Count of Valois, who had fled, as had done the principal part of the army, in the firſt ſurpriſe. The action now became hot and bloody: the diſperſed troops returned to the charge: the Flemings were compelled to give way to the impetuoſity of the Gallic horſe, and were driven to their camp with prodigious ſlaughter. Six thouſand were the computed numbers of their ſlain; while, on the ſide of the French, fifteen hundred, with a conſiderable portion of their nobility, were left upon the field of battle:

battle: a day leſs fortunate than glorious; and A. D.
the ſucceſs of which was ultimately due to the exertions, as to the perſonal valour of their Sovereign!

From the field of carnage, the King inveſted Liſle, into which his opponent had thrown himſelf with his diſcomfited army. The Flemings, not diſcouraged by their recent loſs, collected an undiſciplined, but a daring and a deſperate force of ſixty thouſand men, with which they advanced to the relief of the city. Surpriſed at their reſources, and, induced by the importunity of his principal Nobles, who, however, they had ſupported his enterpriſe, could not but diſapprove of his waſte of blood, and of the treaſure of his ſubjects in ſo unprofitable and hazardous a purſuit, Philip conſented to liſten to terms of accommodation, and acceded to the following conditions. —The ſons of the late Count were to be delivered from their confinement: Robert, of Bethune, the eldeſt, was to be reinſtated in all the poſſeſſions of his father, excepting Liſle, Douay, Orchies, and Bethune: the Flemiſh priſoners were to be reſtored to liberty; and the nation, to the re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe privileges which they enjoyed before the commencement of the war; and, as ſome indemnification for the expences that he had incurred, the Gallic Monarch was to receive, at ſtipulated periods, the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres.

Thus

A. D. Thus ended a war, in which torrents of blood had been ſhed, to promote the views of an individual, whoſe unbounded ambition had led him to diſpute the parental rights of a father, as a pretence for injuſtice and oppreſſion; but who was taught to know, without deriving any profit from the ſalutary admonition, to what extremities of vengeance an irritated populace can carry their reſentment, when rouſed by an infringement of that ſacred liberty, obtained by the courage of their anceſtors, and become the expected inheritance of their children!

Upon the return of Philip into France, he entered Paris in triumph; repaired to the church of Notre-Dame, to offer up his thanſgiving; and erected an equeſtrian ſtatue in that cathedral, to commemorate an event which had however by no means anſwered the expectations he had formed: nor was the ſatisfaction he might be expected to receive from a return of peace, unalloyed by public and domeſtic affliction. A famine deſolated his capital: he was deprived of his conſort, Joan of Navarre, and of Blanch, his ſiſter, the wife of Rodolph, Duke of Auſtria, who, with her only ſon, was taken off by poiſon.

To Boniface the Eighth, had ſucceeded, in the honours of the pontifical chair, Benedict the Eleventh, of a character and ſentiments totally diſſimilar from thoſe attributed to that Pontiff. He endeavoured to reſtore the harmony that had formerly

merly ſubſiſted between the French and Papal Courts; recalled, and reinſtated the Lords of Colonna in their wreſted poſſeſſions; and abrogated the ſpiritual cenſures that had been fulminated by his predeceſſor, both againſt the Gallic Monarch and his ſubjects: but his zeal, in reforming the corruptions that pervaded the dominions of the church, diſpleaſed the licentious and the factious Italians; and a reign of eight months terminated, by a deleterious potion, his ſhort pontificate. A. D.

Upon the demiſe of this Prelate, two factions divided the Conclave aſſembled at Perouſe, to nominate a ſucceſſor in the pontifical chair: the one compoſed of the friends and family of Boniface; the other, of the adherents of the Gallic Monarch, and of the Lords of Colonna. Nine months had elapſed without the hope of terminating the conteſted buſineſs, when Nicholas di Prato, Biſhop of Oſtia, of the latter party, propounded a ſcheme to forward the important election. "You wiſh," ſaid he to his opponents, "to have a Pope, inclined to the cauſe of Boniface: name three perſons who are not Italians, but who are attached to his memory, and we will engage to confirm one of them in his elevation to the tiara."

Theſe terms were willingly accepted: of the three whom they nominated, Bernard de Got, Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, by birth a Gaſcon, and hitherto the profeſſed enemy of the King, was the object to whom the French party directed their wiſhes

A. D. wiſhes; and Philip, informed of their views, to obviate the ill effects of his enmity, obtaining a ſecret interview with the Prelate, in the foreſt of St. John of Angeli, opened to him the conditions upon which he was willing to promote his elevation to the papal honours. Senſible that it might be in the power of that Prince to prevent his attainment of the dignity to which he aſpired, the ambitious eccleſiaſtic promiſed to conſent to the ſeveral requiſitions made him by the Gallic Monarch; and which were to the following purport: "That "he were to abſolve his conſcience for the part "he had borne in the ſeizure of Boniface; revoke "all the cenſures that had been impoſed by the "See of Rome, againſt his kingdom, his ſubjects, "and allies; accord him, five years, the tenths of "the Clergy of France; cancel all the decrees, and "condemn the memory of that Pontiff; reſtore to "their dignities and poſſeſſions, the Lords of Co-"lonna; and beſtow the vacant hats upon ſuch "perſons as he ſhould recommend: and the laſt "demand," ſaid the intereſted and politic Prince, "I reſerve for a more convenient time and "place."

1305. Having delivered into the hands of Philip, his brother, and his two nephews, as hoſtages for the ſincerity of his intentions, the new Pontiff received the confirmation of his election; and, aſſuming the name of Clement the Fifth, repaired to Lyons, where the ceremony of his conſecration was performed;

formed; and, to the regret of the Italian Cardinals, A. D.
he ſoon afterwards eſtabliſhed his reſidence in the city of Avignon.

The Gallic Monarch now called upon him to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered, and which were faithfully complied with by the Holy Father, excepting the condemnation of Boniface. He ventured not, however, by a direct refuſal, to irritate the paſſions of the King; but, under a variety of pretences, created ſo many delays, that the proceſs, not determined until ſome years after, in the famous Council of Vienne, at length ended in a juſtification of his predeceſſor, in which Philip, occupied at that time by other purſuits, found it his intereſt to acquieſce.

It was about this period that the Swiſs cantons of Uri, Schiwtz, and Undewald, entered into a confederacy to deliver themſelves from the inſupportable tyranny of the Auſtrian yoke; an event which they nobly as ultimately effected; and being joined ſome time afterwards by the other Helvetian diſtricts, birth was given to the famous republic of Switzerland. That brave people, ever jealous of their liberties, had yet been in ſome meaſure dependent upon the Empire for protection. Rodolph of Hapſbourg had ſupported them againſt the encroachments of their Nobility; but Albert, his ſon, purſuing a different policy, aſſumed over them the rights of abſolute ſovereignty. The independent ſpirit of a people, who had been free from

A. D. from time immemorial, was quickly aroused by the arbitrary sway of the governors appointed to rule over them. They surprised, dismissed the oppressors, and prepared, with invincible firmness, to resist the arms and the resentment of their implacable tyrant.

To chastise, and to support the authority he had affected, the Emperor assembled a numerous army—when he fell a sacrifice to his rapacity and injustice, on the banks of the Prus, in the vicinity of Switzerland, slain in the presence of his Court and army, by his nephew, the Duke of Suabia.

1308. The death of this Prince discovered to the Pope the ambitious project that had long agitated the heart of Philip. He now disclosed to the Holy Father the reserved demand to which he had alluded in their secret interview at Andeli; and requested the interest of Clement to place the Imperial crown upon the head of his brother, Charles of Valois. Perplexed at a proposition which, if effected, would augment so considerably the influence of the French Monarch; and apprised of his secret intentions to enforce, by hostile measures, his demand; the wary Pontiff apprised the electors of his meditated design, and enforced the necessity of a speedy decision in the choice of a successor to the vacant dignity. The intrigues of Clement were successful: Henry, Count of Luxembourg, was unanimously chosen to fill the throne, lately occupied by Albert; and when Philip arrived

arrived at Avignon, he had the mortification to learn, that the nomination had been confirmed by the Papal ſanction. A. D.

The re-union of the city of Lyons to the crown of France, that had been detached from its ſovereignty at the cloſe of the Carlovingian line, and juſtly conſidered as a valuable acquiſition,—was yet but a poor recompenſe for the ſplendid proſpects that Philip had been compelled to forego; but he was contented to ſmother the reſentment that the recent conduct of the Pontiff had inflamed, to obtain his concurrence and aſſiſtance in the ſuppreſſion of the Knights Templars; an affair in which his perſonal intereſt was more intimately concerned; and whoſe perſecution the diſpaſſionate writer will rather attribute to the prodigality and rapacity of that Prince, than to the vices and enormities of which the members of their Order were accuſed.

This religious and military inſtitution had ariſen in the firſt fervour of the cruſades, and had been eſtabliſhed in Jeruſalem, at the commencement of the twelfth century. Uniting the two moſt popular qualities of the age—devotion and valour, and highly diſtinguiſhed in their defence of the Holy Land, as in their various Aſiatic expeditions—the Knights Templars had gradually acquired, from the piety and ſuperſtition of the faithful, immenſe poſſeſſions in every country in Europe. Their prodigious wealth tended to introduce a corruption

A. D. of manners; and, deeply tinged with the vices of the age, their inſolence, pride, luxurious, and licentious conduct, had conſiderably weakened the public eſtimation, as they had entirely extinguiſhed the veneration that had been affixed to their character.

The ſeverity of the taxes, and the frequent alterations made in the value of the coin by Philip and his Council, had, ſome years before this period, been the occaſion of a ſedition in the capital; a tumult which the King ſuſpected had been fomented by them. Whether from the cupidity of the Monarch, the corruption of their lives, or from whatever cauſe it might have originated, it is evident that a regular plan had been formed for their total annihilation. Upon no better information than upon that of two knights, who had been compelled to perpetual impriſonment by the Grand Maſter of the Order, for their profligacy and their crimes, Philip iſſued a general edict againſt thoſe devoted people; and which was ſo well executed, that the Templars within his kingdom were all in one day arreſted, and confined to various priſons throughout his diminions; and their eſtates ſequeſtered into the hands of Cardinals, appointed by the See of Rome.

The enormous and abſurd crimes of which they were accuſed, are in themſelves ſufficient to deſtroy the credit of their acuſers; crimes, of which it has been alledged that Philip was appriſed before the corona-

coronation of Clement, and which had been the occaſion of ſeveral conferences with that Pontiff, wherein there cannot be a doubt, but that the meaſures he afterwards adopted had been fully agreed upon. Above one hundred knights were put to the rack, to extort a confeſſion of their imputed guilt: the obſtinate, who perſiſted in a denial, expired under the hands of their tormentors; while others, overcome by their agonies, acknowledged whatever was demanded—but fifty-nine of theſe unhappy ſufferers were no ſooner relieved from the tortures they had endured, than they retracted what their ſufferings had compelled them to declare; and were conducted near the abbey of Saint Antony, without the walls of Paris, and committed to the flames, ſteadily perſiſting to the laſt moment of their exiſtence in their innocence; and rejecting, with indignation, the proffers of mercy extended to a diſavowal of their recantation. Numbers periſhed in a like manner, in various parts of the kingdom. John de Molay, the Grand Maſter, and Guy, brother to the Dauphin of Auvergne, whoſe fate had been for ſome time ſuſpended by the Papal interference, to whom it was alledged they had confeſſed their various crimes, were conſumed by a ſlow fire, behind the garden wall of the vindictive Philip, nobly inſiſting, until enveloped by the flames, in the injuſtice and inhumanity of their perſecutors, whom they ſummoned to anſwer for the agonies they endured A. D.

A. D. before a divine and juſt tribunal. To the perſonal cruelty the Templars were doomed to experience, their enemies extended their oppreſſion to every part of Europe; and in a general council, aſſembled at Vienne, in Dauphiny, the Pope, by the plenitude of his apoſtolic authority, aboliſhed the whole Order, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all the Prelates, excepting four, who had been convened upon this extraordinary and iniquitous occaſion.

In virtue of the Papal decree, the Templars, in every kingdom of Europe, were thrown into priſon, their conduct ſcrutinized; and no where but in France were the traces of their guilt pretended to have been diſcovered. The Order having been, however, totally ſuppreſſed, their eſtates were conferred upon the Knights Hoſpitalers, who, by their recent conqueſt of the iſland of Rhodes, had obtained the appellation of Knights of Rhodes; and the poſſeſſions which had been thus appropriated, were found, upon a candid inveſtigation, not to have been in any degree equal to thoſe that had been forfeited by the Templars: it is, therefore, credible, that a vaſt proportion of their wealth muſt have fallen to the ſhare of the principal promoters of this ſanguinary, as unjuſt and arbitrary, proceſs.

1313. This cruel, as ever-memorable perſecution, being thus concluded, the Gallic Monarch, as if willing to ſhew, by public rejoicings, the ſatisfaction he experienced

experienced from the reſult of this event, magni- A. D.
ficently entertained Edward the Second, King of
England, and his Queen Iſabella, in his capital;
beſtowed the inſignia of knighthood upon his three
ſons, and many of the young nobility: and, if we
may credit the hiſtorians of his reign, nothing
had yet exceeded the ſplendour of the ſpectacle,
nor the profuſion and expence thus laviſhed by the
rapacious and inhuman Philip.

The King of England had repaired to Paris, to adjuſt, by accommodation, ſome differences that had ariſen between his Court and that of the French Monarch: both Sovereigns entered into an engagement to bury in oblivion all ſubſiſting cauſes of diſguſt; and, receiving the croſs from the Legate of the Papal See, mutually avowed their determination to undertake another expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land. The tenth of their revenues was again exacted from the French Clergy, and rigorouſly levied; but the ſpiritual enterpriſe did not take place; and, upon the departure of Edward for his native land, Philip reſumed his favourite deſign of annexing the valuable county of Flanders to his already powerful and ſplendid poſſeſſions.

Upon the moſt frivolous pretences, the ſon of Robert de Bethune had been arreſted at Paris, and confined; but had fortunately effected his eſcape. The parliament, to which Philip, ſecure of its favourable decree, had ſubmitted the deciſion of

A. D. the affair, pronounced the territories of the Count forfeited to the crown, as he had not fulfilled his former engagements, nor had he repaired in perſon, to anſwer to the charges alledged againſt him; and the King, to enforce this unjuſt decree, levied an army, and advanced to Courtray. Without reſources, Robert, unable to reſiſt the French arms, propoſed terms of accommodation; and was compelled to conſent to the rigorous demands of his opponent. At the departure of the Gallic Monarch, the inhabitants of that city, which had been delivered into his hands, drove out the officers that he had appointed in authority over them; and the exaſperated Philip returned with a force ſufficiently powerful to chaſtiſe the affront, as to complete the conqueſt of the province. This vaſt armament procured not, however, the purpoſed intention: his ſubjects, haraſſed by the rapacity of his miniſters, exhauſted by their various exactions, and never cordially inclined to the Flemiſh war, entered into an almoſt univerſal confederacy to repel their further oppreſſions, and to obtain a redreſs of their grievances. At the head of an army he could not pay, he was obliged to forego his ambitious project: the Count renewed his propoſals for peace; they were again attended to; and Philip once more, reluctantly as inglorioufly, returned to his capital.

1314. Mortified at the general diſaffection that pervaded every part of his dominions; and ſenſible that

that his ſubjects, irritated at his exactions, were every where ready to ſecond their reſentments, by an open reſiſtance to his will; Philip was neceſſitated to arreſt the hand of oppreſſion, and ſubmit to the humiliation of diſavowing his concurrence in the meaſures that had been adopted by his miniſters; but the apprehended revolt of his kingdom occaſioned but little regret to the mind of the King, compared to what he ſuffered from events, more intimately connected with his domeſtic happineſs, his parental feelings, and his perſonal diſgrace. Margaret, the daughter of Robert, Duke of Burgundy, with Blanch and Joan, daughters of the Count of Burgundy, the conſorts of his ſons, were accuſed of having proved unfaithful to the marriage-bed. The Princeſſes were arreſted: a parliament aſſembled at Pontoiſe confirmed the diſgrace of the two former, who were ſentenced to perpetual confinement; and their paramours, Philip, and Gautier de Launi, mutilated, flayed, and dragged over a field that had been lately reaped, were expoſed, to cloſe their torments, upon a gibbet. The awakened vengeance was not contented to reſt here—Lewis, the huſband of Margaret, ordered her to be ſtrangled in her impriſonment;—while numbers of both ſexes, either the real or fictitious accomplices of their intrigues, were condemned to periſh by tortures, as rigorous as they were ignominious. A. D.

A. D. The chagrin occaſioned by this diſgraceful buſineſs, the encreaſing perplexity of his affairs, with the little hope he entertained of being able to reeſtabliſh his authority, threw the unhappy Prince into a ſtate of languor and deſpondency, that he endeavoured, but in vain, to overcome. Convinced of his approaching diſſolution, and deeply penetrated by reflection on his paſt enormities—his laſt days were employed in regretting the meaſures he had purſued; and in warmly exhorting his ſucceſſor to repair, by a conduct very different from that by which his own actions had been guided, the evils of which he had himſelf been the cauſe; and expired, with the appearance of a fervent piety, and ſincere repentance, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, and in the thirtieth of his reign.

His children, by Jane, the heireſs of Navarre, were ſeven.—Of the ſons, Lewis; Philip, Count of Poitiers; and Charles, Count of la Marche, were ſucceſſively Kings of France; Robert died young. The daughters were—Margaret; Iſabel, Queen of England; and Blanch.

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THE dignity of the throne, ſuſtained againſt vaſſals, equally proud as powerful; a new peerage erected in France; the third eſtate admitted into the

the aſſemblies of the nation; the Supreme Tribu- A. D.
nals denominated Parliaments, rendered ſtationary at Paris; the Papal enterpriſes ſucceſsfully arreſted; judicial combat for ever aboliſhed in all civil cauſes; the Order of the Knights Templars ſuppreſſed throughout Chriſtendom; and the city of Lyons, with its territory, annexed to the French crown—ſuch is the exordium of the reign we have juſt reviewed, as given by the Abbé Velly, an eminent and inquiſitive hiſtorian. But will the character of the Monarch, which is thus meant to be extolled, juſtify the candid inquiſition of the impartial inveſtigator?

In the long and active adminiſtration of Philip, we ſeek in vain for one amiable trait to brighten the character of an individual, diſtinguiſhed by his immeaſurable arrogance, inſatiable rapacity, and perſevering as flagitious cruelty. A treacherous violator of the laws of confidence and hoſpitality, in the perſon of Guy, Count of Flanders,—he waſted the treaſures and the blood of his people, in an unjuſt as a vain attempt to annex his territories to the Gallic crown. Having exhauſted the natural reſources of his kingdom, by this expenſive as unpopular undertaking, he was reduced to ſupply the wants of his exchequer, by frauds upon the current coin of his dominions, by heavy and unexampled taxes, and by the cruel perſecution of an Order whoſe wealth, rather than the imputed crimes alledged againſt its members, was more juſtly

A. D. juſtly the leading cauſe of its final extirpation; and which obtained this rapacious Prince the diſgraceful epithets of a falſe coiner, and a remorſeleſs executioner.

In a more equal ſcale may be weighed his diſpute with Boniface: alike gifted by nature with conſpicuous talents, as diſtinguiſhed by their prominent vices, the enterpriſing Prelate required the ſpirit and independent temper of Philip to be confined within the bounds he had preſcribed; and both, equally graſping at the riches of the Gallican church, were only anxious to ſhare its ſpoils, under the ſemblance of a feigned protection.

At his acceſſion to the throne of his anceſtors, the ſubjects of his realms had been prepared, by the equitable government of his grandfather, to receive a legiſlator. It was but neceſſary to have been juſt, to have eſtabliſhed a wiſe and a regular government. Without the abilities of a Charlemagne, or the virtues of a Saint Lewis—Philip was far from thinking that the legiſlative rights, with which he found himſelf inveſted, were to be employed for the public good; and, without any regular plan for the extenſion of his authority, he yet profited by every occaſion to augment it. The Nobles he managed by oppreſſing the lower claſſes of ſociety, and by encouraging the ſubjects of their demeſnes to revolt againſt them. He created new privileges in one province, while he deſtroyed their ancient rights in another; fomented the private diſputes

putes of his vaſſals, to mediate, and, under this pretence, to ruin both; inſtigated in ſecret the royal bailiffs to unjuſt enterpriſes, recompenſing their zeal, by publicly diſavowing his concurrence, and menacing to revoke the meaſures they had adopted; inflicting real injuries, and pretending a reparation by charters, and uſeleſs promiſes—ſuch were the oblique politics obſervable in the conduct of this Prince. A. D.

To the influence of others have been attributed many of the unpopular meaſures of his government; but, ever jealous of his authority, Philip reigned alone; nor had he occaſion for any inſtigator to encourage the ambitious and the vindictive propenſities engrafted in his heart. With all his vices, however, his conduct in domeſtic life has not been arraigned by the Italian and the Flemiſh writers, who have otherwiſe ſo freely cenſured his character;—we may, therefore, at leaſt allow him the merit of poſſeſſing ſome ſhare of virtue.

His perſonal graces and accompliſhments; his encouragement and protection of the learned, have been dwelt upon by the panegyriſts of his reign. He was likewiſe brave, active, ardent in his purſuits, but without ſteadineſs to render ſucceſsful his military enterpriſes. Poſſeſſed of great talents, they were not ever directed to any laudable purpoſe; and it is rather to be feared that his vices were of more prejudice, than his abilities were of uſe

A. D. uſe to his kingdom; as the evil conſequences produced by his rapacious and oppreſſive government, were for many years ſeverely and deeply felt.

By whatever motives actuated, the civil and political regulations of this Prince are highly deſerving notice, and entitled to praiſe. He rendered his Parliament, or Supreme Court of Judicature, ſtationary at Paris; a meaſure at one neceſſary and uſeful; thereby ſecuring a more ready adminiſtration of juſtice to all his ſubjects. The domeſtic Court of the Capetian Princes, for the internal polity of their demeſnes, had hitherto been accuſtomed to follow the perſon of the Monarch, and to be held at whatever time, and in whatever place, he had judged it moſt convenient. To the Peers, Nobles, and Prelates, that compoſed this aſſembly, which had in the laſt century been diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Parliament, the immediate predeceſſors of this Prince had added clerks, or men of letters. The number of theſe was conſiderably augmented by Philip, who likewiſe introduced ſuperiors or preſidents, to conduct their tranſactions with decency, regularity, and diſpatch. Having, by theſe means, obtained credit and authority, it became a reſpected tribunal, and relieved the Sovereign from the trouble of hearing and deciding appeals in perſon. Upon the ſame principles he likewiſe erected ſovereign courts at Thouloufe, Rouen, and Troyes; diviſions the moſt diſtant from his capital!

To

To appeaſe the murmurs that aſſailed him from every part of his dominions—to obtain a more willing concurrence, as a more liberal aſſiſtance in the meaſures he wiſhed to purſue—ſeem to have been the real motives that induced Philip to introduce the third eſtate into the aſſemblies of the nation. By thus ſhewing a deſire to conſult with all, he more readily allayed the general indignation; but aware, at the ſame time, that the plan he had adopted might militate againſt the increaſing authority of the crown, and fearful leſt theſe general aſſemblies ſhould perceive the power with which they were entruſted, and the nation ſhould be led to conſider them as an ordinary reſort of government, he cautiouſly avoided convoking them at any particular time, or determinate place: ſometimes convened by his commiſſioners in different provinces, and aſſembled under circumſtances, and in ſuch ſituations, as were moſt favourable to his views, he ſeldom found them inclined to oppoſe his wiſhes, but rather to become the dupes of his political and artful deſigns. A. D.

With their aſſiſtance, he was certain of procuring a temporary calm, when the ſpirit of the people was in fermentation, and of preventing particular aſſociations that might lead to actual revolt: this national convocation, therefore, that might otherwiſe have produced ſo much public good, ſerved but to favour the enterpriſes of Philip; and although no

A. D. no authentic records are left, of what paſſed in the proceedings of the meetings held during this reign, the nature of them may be conceived by the memorials handed down of thoſe convoked under the ſucceeding Monarchs of the Houſe of Valois. The diſorders that reigned in theſe, and the ignorance and incapacity of its members, may convey to the reader ſome idea in what manner each Order was occupied, in the purſuit of its diſtinct and particular intereſts, when called upon to deliberate only upon the welfare of the community at large. Philip, however, little as he meant a public benefit by the inſtitution of the States-General, put it in the power of the nation, to have eſtabliſhed a free and a happy government.

With Lyons, Philip annexed to his dominions the counties of Burgundy, Angoulême, and La Marche; and erected Brittany, Artois, and Anjou, into peerages: he aboliſhed judicial combat in all civil matters; and, by the law of appanages, limited the ſucceſſion to Heirs Male.

CHAP-

A. D.

# CHAPTER XXIX.

## THE REIGNS OF LEWIS THE TENTH, PHILIP THE FIFTH, AND CHARLES THE FOURTH.

The acceſſion of Lewis the Tenth—Charles of Valois appeaſes the diſcontents of the kingdom, and procures the condemnation of Marigny—The fate of that miniſter—The ill ſucceſs of Lewis in Flanders—His death, and character—Philip, his brother, aſſumes the regency—He takes up arms againſt the Count of Artois—His ſucceſs—The conſort of Lewis Hutin delivered of a ſon—He is baptized by the name of John, and dies—Philip is acknowledged king—His ſucceſsful negociations with his opponents — He concludes a peace with the Flemings — The affairs of Italy and Germany — Philip of Valois goes to the aſſiſtance of the Pope — A ſedition of the peaſantry—The perſecution of the Jews—The projected reformations of Philip, with his death, and character — The acceſſion of Charles the Fair—His divorce and marriage—Settles the ſucceſſion of Flanders—War with England—The conqueſt of Guienne—Iſabel repairs to Paris—Her intrigues—Invaſion of England, and the fate of Edward King of England—Charles diſappointed in his views upon the Imperial Crown—His death and character.

LEWIS, who had for ſome years borne the title of King of Navarre, in right of his mother, Jane, ſucceeded to the Gallic throne in the twenty-third, or, according to others, in the twenty-fifth year 1314. Nov. 29.

A. D. year of his age. Left to encounter the gathering ſtorm, that had threatened to ſhake to its foundations, the authority of Philip; his ſon, with an exhauſted exchequer, and an alienated nobility, ventured not to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation, until he had made ſome attempt to allay the general fermentation, which announced an approaching inſurrection. To the negociations of his uncle, Charles of Valois, he confided the precarious and important attempt. This Prince, who had borne a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration of the laſt reign, had obtained an unlimited aſcendancy over the mind of the young Sovereign: with violent and uncontroulable paſſions, he was, however, ſucceſsful in the deputed charge: preceded by commiſſioners, he repaired to the diſcontented provinces, examined the nature of their reſpective grievances; by an engagement to reſtore the privileges enjoyed in the reign of Saint Lewis, calmed the minds of the Nobles; and, by annulling ſome impolitic impoſts, with the ſacrifice, to the public indignation, of Enguerrand of Marigny, he for a while appeaſed the murmurs of the people.

Marigny, Count of Longueville, of honourable deſcent in Normandy, diſtinguiſhed for his natural and political endowments, had been the choſen friend, and the confidential miniſter of Philip: the elevation he had attained, he ſtill preſerved in the councils of the ſon. The temporary calm that had

had been procured through the interference of the A. D.
Count of Valois, had not, in any manner, applied a remedy to the embarraſſed ſtate of the finances. The young Monarch, who was obliged, from his pecuniary neceſſities, to defer his coronation, demanded, in his council, the cauſe of the impoveriſhed ſtate of the royal exchequer. In reply to Charles, who had referred the King to his miniſter, for an explanation, Marigny boldly charged the Count with having appropriated to his own uſe, a conſiderable portion of thoſe exactions ſo rigorouſly levied in the laſt reign. Equally inflamed, the interpoſition of the ſurrounding Nobles prevented an immediate reference to the ſword; but the implacable reſentment of Valois, that had been long indignantly ſtifled, ended not here; he attributed to the unfortunate miniſter, a variety of miſdemeanors, ſome probably true, others entirely void of foundation, aggravating his charges with the moſt ſenſeleſs accuſations, alledging that, by enchantment, he had been the cauſe of the death of Philip; and that, by the ſame machinations, he was again attempting the deſtruction of his ſucceſſor.

Marigny demanded to be heard in his defence; it was denied him: the King, ſecretly conſcious of his innocence, ſought to ſave him; but the influence of his accuſer prevailed, and the weak, but reluctant Lewis, conſented to the ſacrifice required. Inſult was ſuperadded to injuſtice—he was condemned—his immenſe wealth confiſcated—and he was hanged upon a gibbet, at Montfaucon, which he

A. D. had himſelf ordered to be erected for the expoſition of ſignal offenders. The diſgraceful end of this illuſtrious favourite, with the firm aſſeveration of his innocence, to the very laſt moment of his life, had a very different effect upon the minds of the public, than the Count of Valois had been induced to ſuſpect. Conſidered as the victim of his paſſions, he was as ſincerely regretted, after his death, as he had been execrated in the days of his proſperity; and, if we may judge from the ſubſequent conduct of his accuſer, he was himſelf internally convinced of the injuſtice of his perſecution. Having been, ſome years afterwards, ſeized with a paralytic diſorder, in the hour of deſpair he endeavoured to appeaſe the reproaches of his conſcience by charitable donations, and by an ample acknowledgement of the divine retribution.

The confiſcated effects of Marigny, and his ſuppoſed accomplices, were ſoon exhauſted: a projected war with Flanders required new aids; and freſh meaſures were deviſed to provide more ample reſources. The miniſters, unappalled by the fate of their predeceſſor, purſued the ſame maxims as thoſe which had been adopted in the late reign: upon various pretences, they drew ſubſidies from the Nobles; levied a tenth upon the Clergy; enfranchiſed the bondſmen of the royal demeſnes, for pecuniary conſiderations; and, when they refuſed to purchaſe their liberty, they were declared free, and their effects were ſeized; offices of judicature were ſold; the Jews, who had been expelled

expelled the kingdom in former reigns, were permitted, in conſideration of an ample contribution, to re-eſtabliſh themſelves in France;—and, by theſe means, and other oppreſſive meaſures, Lewis was enabled to raiſe a conſiderable force, with which he entered the territories of the Count of Flanders. Unable to contend with the ſuperior power of his adverſary, Robert de Bethune, to deprecate the vengeance of his opponent, offered to deliver up the city of Courtray, which had been inveſted by the Gallic army. By an artful protraction of the negociation, the French Monarch was detained in Flanders, until the advance of the autumnal ſeaſon compelled him to relinquiſh his enterpriſe. Courtray was recovered by the Flemings; and the King, with the loſs of a conſiderable proportion of his military equipage, retired, in diſgrace, to his capital. A. D.

Perplexed by the low ſtate of his finances, as by the meaſures which he ſhould adopt, to enable him to renew, in the enſuing ſpring, his project againſt the Flemings, his embarraſſments were augmented by complaints from every part of his kingdom, of the rigorous exactions of the officers of the crown, many of whom were ſacrificed to the popular indignation; when a ſudden attack, imputed to poiſon, but more generally attributed to a pleuriſy, put an end to all his diſquietudes, after a ſhort and uneaſy reign of eighteen months. By his firſt conſort, Margaret of Burgundy, who fell a victim to her criminal intrigues, he had a 1316. June 7.

A. D. daughter, Jane; and Clemence, a princeſs of Hungary, whom he eſpouſed ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, he left pregnant.

The ſhort duration of the reign of this Prince, who ſeems to have been entirely guided by the counſels of the Count of Valois, affords but ſlender materials for reflection. He obtained the ſurname of Hutin, during his life-time, which his light and irregular conduct, producing more noiſe than effect, might poſſibly have deſerved. The contracted period in which he was fated to wear the crown, was employed in unjuſtifiable meaſures, as in the moſt unworthy artifices, to extort pecuniary advances from his ſubjects; and the retribution ſo fervently recommended in the laſt teſtament of this Monarch, and in that of his predeceſſor, evince the inward teſtimony they experienced of their injuſtice.

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The demiſe of Lewis, left in a ſtate of doubt and perplexity the different orders of the kingdom. Uncertain to whom the ſucceſſion to the crown, or the regency, ought, by hereditary right, to devolve—Charles, Count of Valois, unwilling to relinquiſh the authority he had ſo long enjoyed, and under the pretext of ſupporting the royal widow, aſſembled his adherents, and took poſſeſſion of the Louvre.

Upon

Upon the approach of Philip, Count of Poitiers, the brother of the late King, who had been engaged at Lyons, in the election of a ſucceſſor to the pontifical chair, which had been vacant ſince the death of Clement the Fifth, Charles, with the confederate Princes, abandoned the capital. A negociation took place; and, by the deciſion of the Parliament, the Count of Poitiers was unanimouſly acknowledged the regent of the kingdom. A. D.

Having aſſumed the adminiſtration, his ſhort regency was principally employed in ſupport of Matilda, Counteſs of Artois, the conſort of the Count of Burgundy, againſt Robert, grandſon of the Count of Artois, ſlain in the battle of Courtray. In the reign of Philip the Fair, the ſucceſſion to thoſe territories had been diſputed. The deciſion of that Monarch had adjudged them to Matilda, the daughter, in preference to Robert, the grandſon of the departed Count. The latter, compelled to acquieſce in this ſentence, had remained inactive during the reigns of Philip and his ſon; but, upon the death of Lewis, he reaſſumed his arms. Unſucceſsful againſt the ſuperior forces of the Regent, the Parliament, to whoſe final deciſion were left their reſpective claims, confirmed to the Counteſs of Artois the conteſted poſſeſſions.

Upon the return of the Regent, from his expedition into Artois, the Queen was delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of John. 1316. Nov. 14.

A. D. The death of this infant, who lived but eight, or, according to others, twenty days, and who was proclaimed King of France and Navarre, in the funeral ſervice, left open the vacant throne to Philip.

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1317. Jan. 7. Philip the Fifth, ſurnamed the Long, ſo diſtinguiſhed from the height of his ſtature, unwilling to truſt to a public inveſtigation his precarious rights, ſo ſoon as the obſequies of the infant king were performed, aſſumed the regal title; and, with the aſſiſtance of the royal revenues, the ſupport of the Conſtable and his uncles, the Counts of Valois and Evreux, aſſembled ſome troops; and, repairing to Rheims, was anointed and crowned by the hands of Robert, Archbiſhop of that dioceſe. The important ceremony happily effected, he endeavoured to ſecure the tranquil poſſeſſions of the dignity he had attained, by a negociation with thoſe who were the moſt active in their oppoſition to his attainment of the crown.

From the ſucceſſion of Hugh Capet, the Gallic throne had been invariably filled by the direct deſcendants of that Prince. It had long been the prevailing opinion, that the crown of France, from a particular clauſe in the Salian code, compriſing the laws of an ancient tribe among the Franks, could not devolve to a female; an opinion ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Eudes, Duke of Burgundy

gundy, who had aſſerted the claim of Jane, his niece, the only daughter of Lewis Hutin, to the dominions of her father, and had ineffectually endeavoured to prevent the coronation of Philip. A. D.

The Gallic Monarch, upon his return to Paris, aſſembled the Nobles, Prelates, and Deputies of his capital, when, by a ſolemn and deliberate decree, they confirmed his elevation to the throne; tendered their oaths of ſubmiſſion and fidelity, both to himſelf and to his ſon, but who did not ſurvive to receive the advantage of this ſpontaneous recognition; and declared females for ever incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of France. The Duke of Burgundy, in conſideration of his eſpouſal with Jane, the eldeſt daughter of the King, and the poſſeſſion of the territories dependent upon the county of Burgundy, the inheritance of her mother, ſacrificed to his ambition the intereſts of the Princeſs whoſe cauſe he had ſo recently undertaken to defend. By the like means, and with equal ſucceſs, Philip prevailed upon the principal Nobles, who had been inimical to his authority, to attach themſelves to his cauſe; and to the ſon of his uncle, the Count of Evreux, he promiſed his niece, the infant heireſs of Navarre.

The calm was but of ſhort duration: the com- 1320
motions that had diſturbed the reign of his predeceſſor, threatened to moleſt the tranquillity of Philip; but he ſteadily ſupported the lower orders of the kingdom, againſt the tyranny of the great vaſſals of the Crown; made ſevere examples of

A. D. thoſe who had been the inſtruments of public oppreſſion; and, by theſe means, obtained ſo decided a ſupport from the inferior ranks of ſociety, that he was enabled to render abortive thoſe aſſociations that were ſeeming to counteract his authority. With the Flemings, who were perpetually in arms, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a final peace, the object of his attention from the commencement of his late regency! and which, after various negociations, he at length effected. Lille, Douay, and Orchies, were delivered up into the hands of Philip; and Lewis, the grandſon of the Count of Flanders, eſpouſed Margaret, the daughter of the Gallic Monarch.

While France was thus enjoying an interval of tranquillity, Italy was the theatre of perpetual contentions. The factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines, which butchered each other without humanity or remorſe, ſtill continued. The conteſt was not however, as heretofore, between the empire and the prieſthood, but between faction and faction. Clement the Fifth had, as we have before obſerved, abandoned the capital of the Papal dominions, for the more tranquil reſidence of Avignon; and the Italian cities, no longer leagued againſt the Emperors, had been for ſome time occupied in their own aggrandiſement. From the death of Frederick the Second, the Sovereigns of Germany had neglected their claims to that fertile country; but Henry the Seventh, having eſtabliſhed a temporary calm in his German dominions,

nions, reſolved to re-eſtabliſh the imperial au- A. D.
thority beyond the Alps: oppoſition was futile; he compelled the more powerful cities to ſubmiſſion; cauſed himſelf to be crowned, at Milan, King of Lombardy; and, with the aſſiſtance of the Lords of Colonna, obtained, although attended with an effuſion of blood, an admiſſion into the capital of the Papal dominions, and received the imperial crown from the hands of the Cardinals. In his preparations to aſſert his authority over the kingdom of Naples, then poſſeſſed by Robert of Anjou, the ſon of Charles the Lame, a ſudden death, attributed to poiſon, adminiſtered by a Dominican Friar, arreſted his career of victory; and the conteſt of Lewis of Bavaria, and of Frederick the Handſome, Duke of Auſtria, for the vacant ſceptre, renewed the horrors of a civil war throughout the Italian and German States.

John the Twenty-ſecond, who, by the influence of Philip the Long, had ſucceeded to the honours of the pontifical chair, oppoſed the elevation of Lewis; but the cauſe of that Prince being ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the Gibeline faction, of which the family of the Viſconti, who at that time enjoyed a ſovereign authority in Milan, were the leaders, the Pontiff was obliged to ſue for the aſſiſtance of the Gallic Monarch, to arreſt their devaſtations in the Papal territories; and Philip was prevailed upon, at his interceſſion, to ſend an army into Italy, conducted by Philip, Count of Mans, the ſon of Charles of Valois, where, ſeduced

A. D. duced by the artifices of Galeazzo di Viſconti, the young Prince was induced to abandon his enterpriſe, and returned into France without having performed any action of importance.

1320. The tranquillity of his dominions, encouraged the French Monarch to reſume his intentions of an expedition into Paleſtine. He had aſſumed the croſs, in the council held at Vienne, in the reign of his father; and, anxious to fulfil his vows, had been with difficulty prevailed upon, while regent, to deſiſt from his meditated deſign. His enterpriſe was again ſuſpended by the interference of the Pope, who rather wiſhed that the Gallic arms, intended for the ſuccour of the Chriſtians of the Eaſt, ſhould be employed in the ſupport of his precarious authority.

The unfortunate avowal of his intentions, gave birth to a ſedition, reſembling that which the captivity of Saint Lewis had occaſioned in the laſt century. A multitude of the lower claſſes of people, principally ſhepherds, and thoſe employed in agriculture, aſſembled in various parts of the kingdom, under the pretext of reſcuing the Holy Land from the poſſeſſion of the Infidels. The King, ſeduced by his ardour for the cruſades, was inclined, at its commencement, to favour their zeal; but the diſorders, and the cruelties they committed, ſoon called for the arm of the legiſlature to reſtrain. The unfortunate Jews, the principal objects of their cupidity and rage, were butchered

butchered without mercy by theſe fanatics; and A. D.
Philip, too late convinced of his error, was obliged
to aſſemble a conſiderable force, to puniſh and
diſperſe this licentious rabble.

The rumour of the intended cruſade, was not 1311.
leſs fatal to France than if the expedition of Philip
had really taken place. A prodigious mortality
daily ſwept off the ſubjects of his realm: the Jews
were convicted of having cauſed the wells, the
fountains, and the rivers, throughout the kingdom,
to be poiſoned. Inſtigated, as has been ſuppoſed,
by the Mahometan Princes of Africa, who were
fearful of the event of another cruſade, and en-
raged at their recent ſufferings, they were deter-
mined, while they indulged their reſentment, to
incapacitate, by the ſame means, the French Mo-
narch from aſſembling a force ſufficient to under-
take his foreign expedition. Upon the diſcovery
of this horrid attempt, the effects of thoſe unhappy
people were confiſcated, and a conſiderable por-
tion of their ſpoils was allotted to augment the
royal treaſury; and indiſcriminately plundered,
maſſacred, and committed to the flames, the per-
ſecuted victims perſiſted, in their laſt moments, to
aſſert their innocence of the charges alledged
againſt them. Thoſe who eſcaped the fate of
their aſſociates, were baniſhed from the kingdom;
nor have they, ſince that period, been ever re-ad-
mitted into France, by any formal or legiſlative
act whatever.

From

A. D. From henceforth the reign of Philip was occupied in his endeavours to introduce a more impartial and regular adminiſtration of juſtice, and in a ſtill farther reduction of the power of the great vaſſals of the Crown. He attempted to aboliſh their right of coining, as detrimental to the general intereſts of the kingdom; and which, could he have effected, would have enabled him to affix a ſtandard for weights, meaſures, and the current coin of his dominions, which had been for ſo many years in a ſtate of fluctuation: but the oppoſition he met with, obliged him to relinquiſh this ſalutary meaſure; and he therefore endeavoured, as a palliative to the evil, to purchaſe their rights from ſuch as were willing, for a pecuniary recompenſe, to forego this pernicious as dangerous privilege.

Jan. 3, 1322. Intent upon his various projects for reformation, he fell into a lingering diſeaſe, which, in the courſe of ſome months, terminated his exiſtence, in the ſixth year of his reign, and in the twenty-eighth of his age; leaving by his Queen, Jane of Burgundy, four daughters:—Jane, eſpouſed to the Duke of Burgundy; Margaret, to Lewis, Count of Flanders; Iſabel; and Blanch.

In the few years allotted to the reign of Philip, he gave indications of conſiderable talents for government: a ſevere adminiſtrator of juſtice, and tenacious of his word, he ſeems to have poſſeſſed more intrinſic honeſty, than had fallen to the ſhare of moſt of his predeceſſors of the Capetian line. His ordonnances were favourable to the progreſs of civil

civil liberty; and he endeavoured to ameliorate the A. D.
condition of the lower classes of society, who groaned under the tyranny of the feudal lords, and who were as ferocious as they were ignorant and superstitious. Devout, without weakness, gentle in his manners, and with a mind well endowed, he was not less distinguished himself for his attainments, than applauded for the encouragement and protection he gave to learning in others.

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Upon the demise of Philip, Charles, surnamed the Fair, Count de la Marche, was, without opposition, elevated to the throne, and crowned at Rheims, by Robert de Courtenay, archbishop of that see. The first care of the new Sovereign was to obtain a divorce from Blanch of Burgundy, who had been condemed for her irregularities in the reign of Philip the Fair, to a perpetual confinement in Chateau-Gaillard. The convenient plea of affinity of blood was urged to the compliant Pontiff, John the Twenty-second, who, anxious to secure the friendship and support of the Gallic Monarch, in a projected armament for the succour of the Christians of Armenia and Cyprus, readily consented to dissolve an union, which had been sanctioned by the dispensation of his predecessor. Thus freed, by the Papal indulgence, from his former engagement, Charles took, for the partner of his throne, Mary, the daughter of Henry the Seventh, the late Emperor of Germany:

and

A. D. and not unmindful of the wiſhes of the Holy Father, he commenced the moſt active preparations to promote the intended enterpriſe. When the diſturbances that had ariſen reſpecting the ſucceſſion to the county of Flanders, and the recent miſunderſtanding that had taken place between the Courts of France and England, called the attention of Charles to matters of more importance to his general intereſt; and the ſpiritual project was abandoned.

Upon the death of Robert, Count of Flanders, Lewis, his grandſon, had been recogniſed as his ſucceſſor in that county: his rights were conteſted by Robert of Caſſel, his uncle. The Flemings, diſpleaſed at the confidence repoſed by their young Sovereign in the Abbé of Vezelay, a native of France, eſpouſed the cauſe of his competitor. Lewis was defeated in an engagement againſt his opponent; arreſted, confined, and again reſtored to liberty and ſovereignty, by the timely ſupport, and menaced vengeance of the Gallic Court.

The rupture with the Engliſh Crown was not ſo ſpeedily allayed. A ſubject of the King of England in Guienne had erected a caſtle upon ſome land that was claimed by the French Monarch, as appertaining to his crown, and of which he was, by order of that Prince, diſpoſſeſſed. Retaken by aſſault, the Senechal of the province conſigned the French garriſon to the ſword. Charles, juſtly irritated at this haſty procedure, demanded an immediate reparation; and Edward diſmiſſed his brother

ther Edmund, Earl of Kent, to the capital of the Gallic monarchy, to endeavour, by conciliating means, to prevent an open rupture between the crowns. Difficulties were ſucceſſively ſtarted; and no ſincerity of requital appearing to actuate the Engliſh Court,—Charles ſent an army, commanded by his uncle, the Count of Valois, to the place of conteſtation, which he took, and razed to the ground; and ſo rapid and ſucceſsful were the French arms, in the continental dominions of the King of England, that to preſerve Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and the few places of importance that had not ſurrendered to the victors, the Earl of Kent ſolicited and obtained a ſhort truce; and Iſabel, the Queen of Edward, was permitted to repair to Paris, to attempt, by a perſonal negociation with her brother, an amicable adjuſtment of all ſubſiſting cauſes of diſguſt. A. D.

The ſubſequent conduct of this Princeſs, is a proof of the inſincerity of her intentions. Actuated by her reſentments againſt Hugh le Deſpenſer, or Spencer, a nobleman, and his ſon, by whoſe councils the weak and infatuated Edward was guided, ſhe rather endeavoured to excite than allay the reſentments of Charles. A treaty was, however, in ſome forwardneſs; and it was at length conſented to, that Guienne ſhould be reſtored, ſo ſoon as Edward had in perſon done homage for thoſe territories. For the performance of this article, many difficulties occurred. The younger Spencer, ſenſible of the animoſity of the Queen, 1325.

was

A. D. was unwilling to attend his Sovereign to a Court in which her intereſt was ſo prevalent; and equally reluctant to remain in England, where he was ſo generally obnoxious, without the protection of the royal authority, propoſed as an expedient, to remove the only obſtacle to the completion of the buſineſs, that the Engliſh Monarch ſhould reſign his poſſeſſions in France to his ſon, the heir of his crown, then a youth of thirteen years; and that he ſhould repair to Paris, and perform the required homage. Theſe terms were accepted: the young Prince was dignified with a ſplendid eſcort to the French Court; and the affair being adjuſted, the King of England required the return of his conſort and of his ſon.

Having now got into her hands the heir of the monarchy, and bent upon the utter ruin of the King and his minion, the projects of Iſabel began to be developed. During her reſidence at Paris, her court had been the reſort of the numerous diſaffected ſubjects that had been driven by their own turbulence, or the oppreſſion of the Spencers, from the kingdom. Among others of this deſcription was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron of the Welſh Marches, who, having been condemned for high treaſon, had been confined in the Tower, and from thence had been ſo fortunate as to eſcape into France. With this Nobleman, the conſort of Edward, forgetting the honour and fidelity ſhe owed her huſband and her ſovereign, lived in a ſtate of criminal and avowed intimacy. Soon informed

formed of the ſcandalous proceedings of his queen, and of the ſecret correſpondence ſhe held with the malcontents of the kingdom, the Engliſh Monarch reiterated his peremptory orders for her return; but ſhe publicly announced her determination never to venture to his Court again, until the younger Spencer ſhould be for ever removed from his preſence and his councils; a declaration that threw a veil over the treaſonable enterpiſes ſhe projected, and obtained her a decided popularity in the dominions of her injured ſovereign. A. D. 1326.

Irritated at her refuſal, and conſidering her reſidence in the Court of her brother, as an infraction of the treaty, the King of England commenced hoſtilities. Charles, who could not be blind to the criminal conduct of Iſabel, aſhamed openly to ſupport her unjuſtifiable proceedings, and gained by the gold that accompanied the letters and remonſtrances of Edward, withdrew his avowed protection, and commanded her immediate departure from his dominions.

The Queen ventured not to diſpute the unwelcome mandate. Admoniſhed of the danger of delay, by Robert, Count of Artois, who informed her of the ſecret intentions of the Gallic Council, to arreſt, and deliver her perſon, with that of her ſon, the Earl of Kent, and her favourite, Mortimer, into the hands of her enemies; ſhe haſtily quitted the territories of the French Monarch; and by the counſel of her ſecret adviſer, the Count of

A. D. 1326. Artois, repaired to the Court of the Count of Hainault. To Philippa, the ſecond daughter of this Prince, ſhe affianced her ſon; and, with his aſſiſtance, embarked, with a conſiderable armament, and a reſpectable eſcort, from Dort, and landed in ſafety upon the coaſt of Suffolk. Her preſence animated her adherents with confidence, and the efforts of Edward were unequal to the traitorous and hoſtile conſpiracy. The ſucceſs of his Queen was adequate to her moſt ſanguine wiſhes: the Spencers, without any form of trial, were ſacrificed to the reſentment of their enemies: the ſame fate awaited the few reſpectable adherents who had been attached to the perſon of their Sovereign; and the unfortunate Edward himſelf, depoſed, degraded, and confined, was, ſome months after, doomed to fill the meaſure of her iniquity, by a death as cruel as it was ignominious.

About the period in which commenced his difference with the Engliſh Court, Charles had been induced, at the inſtigation of the Pontiff, to flatter himſelf that he ſhould have been enabled to accompliſh, in his own perſon, the re-union of the Imperial and the Gallic crowns. He was weak enough to repair for that purpoſe, with a ſplendid eſcort, to Bar upon the Aube, in the expectation that he ſhould there meet with thoſe Princes of Germany who were inimical to the authority of the Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, and be recogniſed as their Sovereign. Diſappointed at the failure of the pro-

miſed

miſed meeting, he returned, chagrined and mortified, to his capital; nor could the reiterated exhortations and promiſes of the Holy Father induce him to riſk a ſecond diſgrace. A. D. 1328.

The Gallic Monarch, who, by the early protection he had afforded the criminal Iſabel, had been ultimately the cauſe of the fatal cataſtrophe of Edward, refuſed however to acknowledge her ſon, who had been crowned upon the depoſition of his father, until the death of that Prince; when he renewed the treaty with the Engliſh Crown, and accepted the excuſes of the young Monarch, who was prevented, by the unſettled ſtate of his kingdom, from repairing in perſon, to perform the accuſtomed homage for his territorial poſſeſſions in France. He did not live to exact a future compliance, and died, ſome months after, at Vincennes, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and in the ſeventh of his reign.

Charles was three times married:—by Blanch, of Burgundy, he had a ſon, and a daughter, who died in their infancy; his ſecond conſort, Mary, brought him a ſon, who ſurvived only the ceremony of his baptiſm; his third Queen was Jane, the daughter of his uncle, the Count of Evreux, and who was preſent at her deceaſe.

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In glancing over the ſhort reign of this Monarch, there appears but little to applaud, or to condemn:

A. D. 1328.

neither a politician, nor a legiſlator, his country derived not any advantage from his exertions. Impartial in his adminiſtration of juſtice, he ſtrictly ſcrutinized the conduct, and made ſome ſevere examples of thoſe who had the direction of the finances in the laſt reign. The Lombards, who were at that period the bankers of Europe, were very numerous in France. Poſſeſſed of great wealth, they, as had the Jews before them, were accuſed of having obtained their riches by the plunder of the people; were deſpoiled of their effects, and baniſhed the kingdom. Jourdain of Liſle, Lord of Caſaubon, a true repreſentative of a feudal tyrant, relying upon his wealth, his power, and near affinity to the pontiff, John the Twenty-ſecond, had committed unwarrantable inſults on the public tranquillity. Having been ſummoned to appear before the parliament, to reply to various capital charges exhibited againſt him, he put to death the royal officer, who had been diſmiſſed to require his attendance: neither his poſſeſſions, nor the interceſſion of the Pontiff, were ſuffered to arreſt the courſe of the laws, and his life paid the forfeit of his crimes. Theſe inſtances of but common juſtice, which procured this Prince the character of firmneſs and impartiality, are convincing proofs that offenders of rank were too often ſuffered to eſcape with impunity, from the commiſſion of the moſt daring enormities.

In

In Charles ended the male line of Hugh Capet, whoſe race ruled over the French Monarchy for thirteen generations, excluſively of the infant John, and which, in the ſpace of three hundred and forty years, had prodigiouſly extended as well their authority as dominions; and had recovered, either to the Crown, or to the Princes of the Royal Blood, the moſt conſiderable part of the ancient kingdom of France. A. D. 1328.

# CHAPTER XXX.

## THE REIGN OF PHILIP, OF VALOIS, THE SIXTH OF THE NAME.

Philip, of Valois, declared Regent—The pretenſions of Edward, King of England—Philip acknowledged King of France—Surrenders Navarre to the daughter of Lewis Hutin—Supports the cauſe of the Count of Flanders—The Flemings defeated at Caſſel—The Count reſtored—The homage of Edward for his territories in France—The affairs of Guienne—Robert, of Artois, inſtigates Edward to hoſtilities—Who aſſumes the title and arms of the French Monarch—The war in Flanders—A ſhort truce interrupted by the diſturbances in Britanny—Montfort made priſoner—The conduct of Jane—Robert defeated, and killed—Edward beſieges ſeveral cities of Britanny—A truce—His pretext for a renewal of hoſtilities—The acquiſitions made by Philip—Succeſs of the Earl of Derby checked by the Duke of Normandy—Edward's attempt in Flanders—Montfort dies—The invaſion of Normandy, by the King of England—His progreſs in that country, with the capture of Caen—He advances to the Seine—Deceives Philip—Paſſes the river—His paſſage of the Somme—The battle of Creſcy—The ſiege of Calais—The war in Guienne and Britanny—The defeat of the King of Scotland—The affairs of Flanders—The ſurrender of Calais—The treachery of Aimery—A peſtilence—The Flagellants—The death of the Queen, and of the Ducheſs of Normandy—The truce prolonged—The demiſe of Philip—His character.

A. D. 1328. THE pregnancy of the Queen involved the adminiſtration of France in the ſame difficulties that had occurred upon the demiſe of Lewis Hutin.

Philip,

Philip, Count of Valois, the firſt prince of the royal blood, and the neareſt male heir to the crown, was, by the laſt requiſition of the dying Monarch, the concurrence of the Parliament, Princes, and Nobles aſſembled, appointed Regent of the kingdom:—a ſituation ſtrongly conteſted, as was afterwards the crown, by Edward the Third, King of England; a young, active, and ambitious Prince, who founded his right to that dignity, as being the ſon of Iſabel, the ſiſter of the three laſt Sovereigns who had wielded the ſceptre of France: a notion than which nothing could be more weak, and ill founded! He admitted the operation of the ſalic law in the perſon of his mother, but aſſerted that a male deſcendant from her was not liable to the ſame objection: a plea, which, had it been allowed, would ſtill further have removed his ſucceſſion to the Gallic crown, as the ſons of Philip the Fair had all left daughters, whoſe claims muſt, in conſequence, have become ſuperior to his own. A. D. 1328.

A few months terminated the regency of the Count of Valois: the Queen was delivered of a female infant; and Philip, already at the head of the government, without any further competition, aſcended the throne of France.

The crown of Navarre not being alike confined to a male line of inheritance, the Gallic Monarch ſupported the juſt claims of Jane to that kingdom. Oppoſed by the daughters of Philip the Long, thoſe of Charles the Fair, and by Edward, King

A. D. 1328. of England, in right of his mother, his efficient aſſiſtance prevailed; and the daughter of Lewis, with her conſort, the Count of Evreux, were proclaimed Sovereigns at Pampeluna.

Having ſucceeded in the ſettlement of this affair, and annexed to the crown the countries of Champagne, and Brie, by the ceſſion of Jane, to whom they had devolved by hereditary right; Philip took up arms in ſupport of his vaſſal, Lewis, Count of Flanders, who had been driven, by his reſtleſs ſubjects, from the poſſeſſion of his dominions. With a well-appointed force, and accompanied by the principal Nobility of his realm, the French Monarch advanced againſt the Flemings, inferior in numbers, but ſtrongly encamped near the city of Caſſel. Had they purſued their firſt plan, of acting only upon the defenſive, it is more than probable, that the armament of Philip, as had been thoſe of his predeceſſors, would have proved ineffectual; but their leader, a man of mean condition, active and enterpriſing, formed the reſolution to penetrate into the Gallic camp, and to ſeize upon the perſon of the King.

Having for ſome time daily explored the quarters of the enemy as a vender of fiſh, and obſerving the negligence of their diſcipline, he ſeized what he deemed a favourable moment of attack, put to the ſword all thoſe who oppoſed his paſſage, and nearly effected his purpoſe by the capture of the Monarch. Thus ignobly ſurpriſed, Philip ſpeedily repaired his

his diſgrace: the royal ſtandard was erected, his ſcattered forces returned to the defence of their ſovereign, and the intrepidity and addreſs of the Flemings were ineffectual to ſave them from the deſtruction that awaited them. Having loſt the advantages of their former ſituation, the conteſt became too unequal to be long undetermined; they were ſurrounded, and their whole army was utterly deſtroyed. A. D. 1329—30

This engagement decided the fate of Flanders. The Flemings, humbled by the power of Philip, but without relaxation of their hatred to the French nation, were compelled to receive their former Sovereign: Caſſel was taken, plundered, and razed to the ground; the fortifications of Ypres, Bruges, and Courtray, were demoliſhed; the privileges of the diſobedient towns were annulled, but were ſoon afterwards reſtored, with conſiderable reſtrictions; and a ſevere proceſs was commenced againſt the inſurgents, ten thouſand of whom fell the victims to the reſentment of the victors.

The firſt care of Philip, upon his return to his capital, was a requiſition of homage from the King of England, for thoſe territories dependent upon the crown of France. Not receiving from the Engliſh Court a ſatisfactory reply to his embaſſy, he ſeized upon the revenues of Gaſcony and Ponthieu. This proceeding had ſome effect upon the mind of Edward; who, in the enſuing year, repaired to Amiens, to perform the accuſtomed duty:

but,

A.D. 1329—30 but, of ſo humiliating a nature appeared, to this ſpirited young Monarch, to be the required ceremonies, that he refuſed to ſubmit to their obſervance. Philip, anxious to have the matter adjuſted, conſented to receive his ſubmiſſions in general terms, until the archives of both kingdoms ſhould be conſulted, relative to ſimilar duties. His departure was ſpeedily followed by ambaſſadors from the Gallic Court, impatient for authentic memorials of his comp i nce.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Guienne, expecting the ſupport of the King of England, had, by frequent incurſions into France, provoked the French Monarch to ſend a force, commanded by Charles, Count of Alençon, his brother, to puniſh their depredations; who not only made repriſals upon the Engliſh domains, but levelled the fortifications of Xaintes to the ground. Embarraſſed by this event, and unprepared to defend his continental poſſeſſions, Edward conſented to allow, in a clear and explicit manner, that the homage which he had tendered, although couched in general terms, ſhould be taken and underſtood in the forms demanded by Philip; and again repaired to Paris, when he received a reſtitution of thoſe territories that had been wreſted from him in Guienne; and an appearance of mutual confidence ſeemed to be reſtored between the contending Princes.

The private reſentment of an individual ſuffered not the interval of peace to be of long continuance;

tinuance; and involved both nations in a war,— one of the moſt ſanguinary and deſtructive that either kingdom had ever experienced;—a war which alike impoveriſhed England and France, and in which the latter was more than once nearly brought to the brink of ruin and deſpair. A. D. 1331.

Robert, Count of Artois, a Prince of talents and credit, who had eſpouſed the ſiſter of Philip, and who had been highly inſtrumental in raiſing that Prince to the throne, renewed his claims to the long-diſputed country from which he derived his title. The parliaments had repeatedly given their award againſt him; Philip had in vain endeavoured to perſuade him to withdraw his pretences: he ſtill perſiſted; and, upon his producing evidences of his rights, ſuppoſed to have been forged,—the King, exaſperated at his treachery, withdrew from him his favour and protection; and, upon the open menaces of vengeance thrown out by Robert, became his moſt violent perſecutor, iſſued a decree of baniſhment againſt him, confiſcated his effects; and, upon his departure, regardleſs of the ties of blood, impriſoned his wife and children.

Robert, purſued by the reſentment of Philip in the refuge he ſought both in Hainault, and Brabant, abandoned himſelf to the tranſports of rage and revenge, ſolicited the protection of Edward, and endeavoured to revive, in the mind of that Prince, his claims to the crown of France. "I made "Philip, of Valois, king," ſaid the incenſed Count,

A. D. 1331. Count, "and, with your aſſiſtance, I will depoſe "him." The Engliſh Monarch, who now held the reins of government unfettered by the councils of Iſabel, his mother, whom he had confined, and of her favourite, Mortimer, whom he had brought to public execution,—readily liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of Robert; and was the more eaſily induced to enter into his views, from the protection afforded by the Court of France to David Bruce, who had been driven from his kingdom by Edward Baliol, ſupported by the arms of the King of England.

Equally determined to ſuſtain the individuals whoſe cauſe they had eſpouſed, the rival Monarchs rejected all accommodation in which they were not to be included. Philip, although he would not openly commence hoſtilities, aſſiſted Bruce with a ſmall ſquadron, to diſtreſs the Engliſh coaſts,—who retaliated upon the defenceleſs inhabitants, the barbarities committed by Edward, in his invaſion of the Scottiſh dominions.

The Pope, John the Twenty-ſecond, made an offer of his interference, and endeavoured to ſoften the mutual reſentments by which they were actuated, by propoſing an expedition into Paleſtine. Both Princes conſented to engage in the ſpiritual warfare; but the King of France became its zealous promoter. With the Kings of Navarre, Bohemia, and Arragon, he aſſumed the ſacred ſymbol. The death of the Pontiff did not abate the ardor of the projected

projected invaſion. His ſucceſſor, Bennet the Twelfth, equally intent upon the expedition, aſſiduouſly endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the contending Sovereigns, as the only means by which he could hope to induce them to march againſt the Infidels. Unwilling to accommodate,—the attention of the two Monarchs was diverted from an Eaſtern expedition, to concerns more intimately connected with their private intereſts: alliances were formed on either ſide; and preparations for war were vigorouſly commenced. A. D. 1336.

Through the activity of his father-in-law, the Count of Hainault, Edward had attached to his cauſe a reſpectable number of the Princes and Lords of the Netherlands; and, by the means of James D'Arteville, a brewer of Ghent, had ſecured the ſupport of the Flemings. Their Count, attached to the politics of the Gallic Monarch, fought in vain to induce them to reject an alliance with the King of England; and was again compelled to take refuge at the Court of Philip. Their new leader, who governed them with more deſpotic ſway than had done any of their former Sovereigns, was the man to whom the Biſhop of Lincoln was deputed by Edward to negociate. Entering zealouſly into the cauſe, he found no difficulty to perſuade his countrymen, whoſe intereſts were intimately concerned in a peace with the Engliſh, from the advantages they derived from the commerce carried on with that people, to accede to his propoſition:

A. D. 1339—40

position: but, before the Flemings would openly declare in favour of their new ally, they inſiſted that he ſhould quarter the arms, and aſſume the title of the King of France: an event which, poſſibly, might have given riſe to that implacable reſentment which continued, for ſo lengthened a period, to inflame the paſſions of either nation.

The alliances of Philip were more natural, as well as more powerful, than thoſe of his rival: the Kings of Navarre and Bohemia, the Dukes of Brittany, and Lorrain; the Counts of Bar, and Count Palatine of the Rhine, with many other German Princes, were the willing ſupporters of his cauſe. A mighty army was brought into the field on either ſide. Conferences, and mutual defiances, were all the fruits of the firſt campaign; when Edward, diſtreſſed for the means to carry on the war, returned into England. The enſuing year, John, Duke of Normandy, the ſon of Philip, overran the province of Hainault. His ſucceſs in that country was but a poor compenſation for the deſtruction of the Gallic fleet upon the Flemiſh coaſts, by the Engliſh, commanded by Edward in perſon; in which, with the loſs of their veſſels, the moſt moderate hiſtorians allow twenty thouſand men to have been ſlain on the ſide of the French, and ſeven thouſand on that of their opponents.

Elated by the luſtre of this victory, the allies of Edward aſſembled their forces with expedition; and, at the head of an army of above one hundred thouſand

thouſand men, the Engliſh Monarch proceeded to the inveſtment of Tournay. For the defence of the city, Philip had taken every neceſſary precaution:—a gallant oppoſition of ſix weeks promiſed little ſucceſs to the Engliſh arms. A detachment, under the command of Robert, of Artois, in an attempt upon Saint Omers, was cut to pieces, or diſperſed; and the King of France, uniting his forces, advanced with prudent caution, and encamped within a few leagues of the enemy. Blocked up in his camp, and harraſſed by the Gallic cavalry, Edward demanded of his opponent a deciſion by ſingle combat: but his wary rival, conſcious of his advantages, rejected the proffered conflict; when Jane, Counteſs of Hainault, nearly allied to the contending Sovereigns, made a tender of her mediation, and obtained the conſent of both parties to a temporary ceſſation of arms. A.D. 1341—3.

To eſtabliſh a ſolid peace, many fruitleſs negociations were entered into: but the affairs of Brittany, in conſequence of the death of the Duke, John the Third, reillumed the torch of war. The younger brother of the deceaſed Prince, of the ſame name, and Count of Montfort, having ſeized, at his demiſe, upon thoſe territories, his niece Jane, who had eſpouſed Charles, of Blois, nephew to the French Monarch, laid claim to the inheritance. The parliament of Paris adjudged the conteſted province to the Princeſs and her conſort. Edward openly aſſerted the rights of Montfort; and John,

Duke

A. D. 1341—3. Duke of Normandy, was diſmiſſed with a powerful force, to diſpoſſeſs the Sovereign of Britanny of his newly-acquired dominions. Beſieged by the Gallic army in Nantes, he was betrayed, and conducted a priſoner to the Louvre. Jane, his Counteſs, a daughter of the Count of Flanders, and one of the moſt extraordinary women of the age, determined to ſupport the fallen fortunes of her huſband. Exerting, with ſingular addreſs, her influence over the Bretons, ſhe traverſed the country with her infant ſon, augmented the garriſons, and put the whole province into an excellent poſture of defence; and, finally, ſhut herſelf up in the fortreſs of Hennebon, a conſiderable ſea-port, until the ſuccours promiſed by the Engliſh Monarch ſhould arrive.

Having captured Rennes, Charles of Blois proceeded to inveſt the Counteſs in her retreat. The town, vigorouſly aſſaulted, as obſtinately defended, was on the point of capitulation—when Jane, from the ſummit of a caſtle, deſcried the ſails of the Engliſh veſſels ſent to her relief: they entered the harbour: the garriſon, inſpired by their arrival, ſallied forth againſt the beſiegers, drove them from their poſt, and compelled them to decamp.

The reinforcements, commanded by an able officer, Sir William Manny, proved however inſufficient for the ſupport of the Counteſs. Charles, of Blois, had made himſelf maſter of the principal cities of the province; and Jane, conſcious of the weakneſs of her forces, having obtained a ſhort truce,

truce, repaired in perſon to the Engliſh Court, to ſolicit more effectual ſuccours from Edward. With a convoy of forty-five veſſels, conducted by Robert, of Artois, the adventurous Jane left the coaſts of England; and, although aſſailed by a Gallic ſquadron, led by Lewis de la Cerda, and likewiſe by a furious tempeſt, gained in ſafety the port of Hennebon. A.D. 1341—3.

Vannes, the firſt object of Robert of Artois, became an eaſy conqueſt. Having taken the city by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword, thoſe of the beſieged who had eſcaped his rage, becoming aſſailants in their turn, and reinforced by troops diſpatched by the Count of Blois, forced the barriers of the ſuburbs, recovered the town; and Robert, dangerouſly wounded in his retreat, was conveyed to Hennebon; and from thence he paſſed into England, where he ſoon after breathed his laſt:—a Prince whoſe name will ever be remembered in the annals of his country, as the chief promoter of all thoſe calamities by which it was overwhelmed for more than a century!

The Engliſh Monarch now thought it neceſſary to conduct, in perſon, his defence of the Counteſs of Montfort. With twelve thouſand men he landed at Morbain, near Vannes, and at once commenced the ſiege of that city, with thoſe of Rennes, Nantes, and Denant. By undertaking too much, he failed in all his enterpriſes. The approach of the Duke of Normandy compelled him to withdraw his

A.D. 1344—6. troops from the three laſt-mentioned cities, and unite his whole force before Vannes. The ſon of Philip, with an army of forty thouſand men, encamped near, and, in ſome meaſure, inveſted the beſiegers. Edward, dependent upon his Engliſh dominions for the ſubſiſtance of his troops, the communication between which and Brittany was frequently interrupted by the fleet of Lewis de la Cerda, willingly attended to the mediation of the legates of the Pontiff, Clement the Sixth; and had the addreſs to procure himſelf, notwithſtanding his danger, both equal and honourable terms. A truce was conſented to for the ſpace of three years, in which the allies on either ſide were to be comprehended; and Montfort, having obtained his liberty, retired again into Brittany.

The object of Edward was evidently not ſo much to obtain peace, as to extricate himſelf from his perilous ſituation at Vannes; and a ſignal act of ſeverity on the part of the Gallic Monarch, was the pretext upon which he grounded his renewal of hoſtilities. Oliver Cliſſon, a Nobleman of Brittany, an adherent to Charles of Blois, had been taken priſoner at the ſiege of the above-named city. Recovering his liberty upon the exchange of priſoners, he had repaired, with many other Bretons and Normans of rank, to Paris, to aſſiſt at a ſplendid tournament, given at the nuptials of Philip, ſecond ſon of the King, with Blanch, the daughter

daughter of Charles the Fair. Upon ſome ſuſpicion, and probably upon that of his having held an intelligence with the King of England and with Montfort; Cliſſon, with ſeveral others, was ſeized, and beheaded by the command of Philip. A. D. 1344—6.

The manifeſtoes of Edward, with his preparations for war, arouſed the vigilance of that Prince. He endeavoured to oppoſe the exertions of his rival by new alliances, and by making ſuch acquiſitions as ſhould be beneficial to his family. The Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, he had for ſome time detached from the intereſts of the King of England; with his ſupport, he alſo gained that of the Biſhop of Liege, and the Count of Hainault; and from the King of Caſtille he was promiſed a naval arnament. To his crown he annexed the province of Dauphiny, reſigned to him by Humbert the Second, Dauphin of Vienne, who had taken upon himſelf the habit of Saint Dominic: the treaty was however not fully ratified until ſome years after; when the heir apparent to the Gallic throne, uniting the arms of that ſovereignty with thoſe of the monarchy of France, aſſumed the title of Dauphin. The lordſhips of Rouſſillon, Cerdegne, and Montpellier, purchaſed from James, King of Majorca, who had been driven from his kingdom by Peter the Cruel, King of Caſtille, were likewiſe valuable additions to his dominions.

A.D. 1344—6. The war recommenced in Guienne. The Earl of Derby, with rapid ſucceſs, captured Bergerac, reduced a great part of Perigord, obtained a complete victory over the French General, the Count of Liſle, whom he made priſoner; and took Reole, Aiguillon, Angoulême, and ſeveral other cities, before the Gallic Court were prepared to impede his progreſs. The French Monarch, diſtreſſed in his finances, was unable to raiſe a ſufficient armament to oppoſe the Engliſh arms in that quarter: his exhauſted exchequer induced him to have recourſe to meaſures that ſpread an univerſal diſcontent throughout the nation. A new tax was impoſed upon ſalt, under the name of the Gabelle; and by this, with a tenth upon the clergy, and by other means, he was at length, although but ſlowly, enabled to raiſe a conſiderable force; which, under the command of the Dukes of Normandy and Burgundy, was diſpatched againſt the enemy, and commenced the ſiege of Angoulême. The Earl of Derby, upon the appearance of ſo ſuperior an army, no longer ventured to keep the field; but, acting ſolely upon the defenſive, reiterated his requiſition for ſpeedy reinforcements from the Engliſh Monarch: but, inattentive to his entreaty, the King of England was occupied by a project, as ambitious as it was unjuſt.

Accompanied by his ſon Edward, the Black Prince, ſo named from the colour of the armour he was afterwards accuſtomed to wear, he had, at the

the commencement of hoſtilities, with a reſpectable land and naval equipment, repaired into Flanders; in the expectation, that his zealous advocate, Aſterville, would have been enabled to prevail upon the Flemings to receive him, or his ſon, as their Sovereign. But the influence of this demagogue, deteſted for his tyranny and murders, had been for ſome time on the decline; and, in a tumult which enſued, this once popular leader was ſlain; and Edward returned, diſappointed of his hopes, to his Engliſh dominions. A. D. 1344—6.

The affairs of Britanny ſuffered a revolution equally unpleaſant to the views of this ambitious Monarch. Montfort had again diſplayed his banners, as Duke of that province: but his ill ſucceſs againſt the arms of Charles of Blois, and his deſpair at the little proſpect he had of retrieving his affairs, threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, of which he died; leaving his ſon, then in England, to the protection of Edward. The Counteſs ſupported ſo well the few places that were yet in the poſſeſſion of her adherents, that the Earl of Northampton, with his Engliſh ſuccours, had time to arrive: he defeated the army of Charles of Blois, and took Roch de Rien, the moſt important fortreſs in the duchy.

The danger which now cloſely preſſed the province of Guienne, from the ſucceſſes of the Duke of Normandy, haſtened the preparations of Edward. With his ſon, and the chief of his Nobi-

A. D. 1346. lity, he embarked with his army. The winds were long unfavourable. Hopeleſs of reaching the place of his deſtination in time for its relief, he liſtened to the exhortations of Geoffry of Harcourt; who repreſented to him, how much more advantageous would be, an attack upon the northern provinces of France. This Nobleman, a Norman by birth, once a favourite of the Gallic Monarch, and diſtinguiſhed in his Court for his valour and his talents, had been diſgraced, and perſecuted by his Sovereign: retiring to the King of England, he ſucceeded to Robert of Artois, in the invidious office of aſſiſting, and exciting Edward, in every enterpriſe againſt his native land.

He inſiſted, that if a deſcent were made upon Normandy, deſtitute of military force, the inhabitants, divided among themſelves, and even averſe to the French government—the enterpriſe could not poſſibly fail of ſucceſs. His arguments were not loſt: the Engliſh Monarch ordered his fleet to ſail for the ancient territory of his anceſtors, and landed ſafely at La Hogue; his troops conſiſting, at their diſembarkation, of four thouſand men at arms, the only ſolid force of his army, ten thouſand Engliſh archers, and ſixteen thouſand Welch and Iriſh cavalry.

Having deſtroyed all the veſſels which were in the harbours of La Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourg, Edward found the province, as had been repreſented by the Count of Harcourt, totally unprepared

unprepared for defence. His army ſpread themſelves over that fruitful country, that had ſo long enjoyed the bleſſings of peace; plundering, burning, and deſpoiling, every place of which they made themſelves maſters. Uniting his forces, the Engliſh Monarch proceeded to Caen, a rich, populous, and commercial town. With reinforcements from Philip, the inhabitants ventured to meet him in the field: they fled on the firſt ſhock of arms: the Counts of Eu and Tancerville were taken priſoners; and the vanquiſhed, with the victors, together entered the city. A cruel maſſacre commenced, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. Driven to deſpair, the citizens barracaded their houſes, and annoyed the enemy with whatever inſtruments of deſtruction they could obtain. Made furious by the loſs of five hundred of his beſt troops, Edward determined upon ſignal vengeance. The intreaties, however, of Harcourt prevailed; and he was permitted to arreſt the ſlaughter. With the promiſe of their lives, the wretched ſufferers forbore reſiſtance; and for three days the pillage continued with inconceivable rapacity. The immenſe plunder, with three hundred of the moſt wealthy citizens, and ſixty knights, were immediately embarked for England, as an allurement to inſure a willing concurrence among his ſubjects, in the meaſures which he had purſued. A.D. 1346.

A. D. 1346. In the expectation of the like ſucceſs at Rouen, Edward advanced to the city: but, in that enterpriſe he was anticipated by Philip, who protected the town with the Gallic forces, after having deſtroyed all the bridges between the above-mentioned place and Paris. Obliged to forego that intention, the King of England, anxious to paſs the Seine, reached Poiſſy at the ſame time that the French Monarch arrived in his capital; who, ſtill acting upon the defenſive, kept pace with the march of the enemy, on the oppoſite banks of the river; while a detachment of his more active rival, paſſing the ſtream in boats, pillaged, and reduced to aſhes, Saint Germain en Laye, Nanterre, Ruelle, and Saint Cloud; and, carrying their ravages as far as the bridge of Neuilly, rejoined their army in ſafety.

Philip had aſſembled the whole force of his kingdom; and flattered himſelf, that his antagoniſt would advance ſo far into the heart of his dominions, as to render a retreat impracticable. Edward was aware of his perilous ſituation: his utmoſt addreſs was neceſſary to open himſelf a ſafe paſſage into Flanders. By an artful manœuvre he deceived the Gallic Monarch: quitting his poſt, he made a feint to ſeek, higher up, the means to croſs the Seine. The French army continued their march; but the King of England, returning by a rapid movement to his former ſtation at Poiſſy, and not finding any troops to counteract his operations,

rations, with incredible celerity rebuilt the bridge that had been deſtroyed, paſſed over the river, and defeated the troops of Picardy, on their way to join their Sovereign; leaving twelve hundred of them upon the field of battle. With the ſame deſtructive rage for plunder and deſolation, he entered into the province of Beauvoiſis, burned the ſuburbs of its capital, and arrived at the banks of the Somme. But here the like difficulties aroſe that had before occurred: the bridges were all deſtroyed, or ſtrongly guarded. There was not time for deliberation: he publiſhed in his camp, liberty, and a conſiderable reward, to any perſon who ſhould diſcover to him a part of the ſtream that was paſſable. Gobin Agace, a peaſant, ſo dear is freedom! was tempted to betray the intereſts of his country. He accepted the conditions; and, at the dawn of the enſuing morning, conducted the Engliſh army to a ſhallow, known by the name of Blanqueteque, the only place in Ponthieu in which the Somme is fordable, when the tide is out. The paſſage was practicable; but, on the oppoſite bank was ſtationed Godemar Duſay, with twelve thouſand Gallic troops. Undaunted by a circumſtance that would have deterred almoſt any other man, he heſitated not a moment: his caſe was a deſperate one: he threw himſelf into the river, at the head of his troops, and drove his opponents from their poſt. The Gallic Monarch arrived at the inſtant that the rear-guard of the Engliſh

A. D. 1346.

A. D. 1346. Engliſh had croſſed the ſtream; and the riſing of the tide prevented the purſuit of Philip!

Exaſperated at this delay, he was compelled to make a more lengthened route by the town of Abbeville; while the King of England, conſcious of the dangers he ſhould incur in continuing his march over the plains of Picardy, purſued by the numerous cavalry with which the Gallic army abounded, prudently ſtopped his career; and advantageouſly ſtationed his troops upon a gentle riſing above the village of Creci, determined to await, with tranquillity, the approach of Philip; who he flattered himſelf, in his eagerneſs to prevent his retreat, as to reſent his devaſtations, might be hurried into ſome raſh and ill-concerted action.

Appriſed of the approach of the French Monarch, Edward diſpoſed his whole force upon a gradual aſſent, and in admirable arrangement, dividing them into three diviſions. To the Prince of Wales, then in his ſixteenth year, and the Earls of Warwick, Oxford, and Geoffry of Harcourt, he entruſted the firſt line; the ſecond he gave to the conduct of the Earls of Arundel and Northampton; and the third, which he ſtationed as a corps of reſerve, he took the direction of himſelf; having prudently thrown up intrenchments on his flanks, to ſecure himſelf againſt the numerous cavalry of the French, and placed his baggage in a wood in his rear.

Informed,

Informed, when within three leagues of the enemy, of the excellent diſpoſition of their army, the Gallic Monarch aſſented to the advice of thoſe who had brought him the intelligence, to encamp where he then was, until the enſuing morning—when his troops might have a ſufficient time to refreſh themſelves before the engagement. He gave orders to ſtop the progreſs of the advanced guard: but the precipitation of his march, and the impatience of the French Nobility, rendered it impracticable; and before his orders could be ſeaſonably conveyed to all, his army found themſelves within ſight of the firſt line of their opponents. A. D. 25 Auguſt 1346.

Fatigued and diſordered, they were imperfectly formed into three diviſions. Fifteen thouſand Geneoſe croſs-bowmen, led by Andrew Doria and Charles Grimaldi, commenced the action: but, in the progreſs of their march having been expoſed to a thunder-ſhower, the ſtrings of their bows being moiſtened and relaxed, their arrows fell ſhort of their deſtined aim; while thoſe of their aſſailants, that had been preſerved in their caſes from the like effect, were ſucceſsfully ſhowered upon them without remiſſion. Already exhauſted, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and fell back upon the ſecond diviſion, commanded by the Count of Alençon, the brother of Philip; who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the ſword. The Prince of Wales, taking advantage of the confuſion and diſmay that this

A. D. 1346. this occaſioned, advanced to the charge. The French cavalry, recovering from their diſorder, and having cleared themſelves of the Genoeſe fugitives, now poured upon their enemies, and began to ſurround the Prince. The Earls of Arundel and Northampton advanced to ſuſtain the ſon of Edward.

The Engliſh Monarch had choſen his ſtation upon an eminence that commanded a view of the field of battle. Rejecting the entreaties of Warwick to ſuccour the heir of his crown, who informed him that he was neither killed nor wounded, "Go, then," ſays he, "and tell him, that I reſerve "for him the glory of the day!" Encouraged by this inſtance of royal confidence, an irreſiſtible attack was made upon the French forces: the Count of Alençon fell a victim to his furious valour; John of Harcourt, the brother of Geoffry, was ſlain; the whole line was diſcomfited, and a dreadful carnage enſued. The King of France, who had advanced with his diviſion to ſuſtain his brother, found himſelf at once almoſt wholly abandoned by his own troops, and ſurrounded by thoſe of the enemy: his horſe was killed under him. Remounted by John of Hainault, he ſeemed determined to maintain the combat: but that Nobleman, having in vain endeavoured to prevail upon him to retire, ſeized the bridle of his horſe, and conveyed him from the field of battle. The Gallic army, already put to flight, were purſued

ſued by the victors; and the ſlaughter continued until the darkneſs of the night prevented further effuſion of blood. A. D. 1346.

This ever-memorable engagement, the ſucceſs of which has been imputed, by ancient hiſtorians, to a few pieces of artillery placed in the front of the army, commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until nine or ten at night. The enſuing morning, the plain was obſcured by a fog. The Engliſh erected French ſtandards upon the ſurrounding eminences, to decoy the fugitives; numbers of whom were, by this cruel ſtratagem, drawn to their deſtruction, with the townſmen of Beauvais and Rouen, who were advancing to join their countrymen. The moſt moderate computation eſtimates the loſs of France to amount to thirty thouſand men of inferior rank; with the Count of Alençon, the King of Bohemia, the Counts of Blois, Flanders, Sancerre, and Auxerre; the Dukes of Lorraine, Bar; with the Italian commanders, Grimaldi, and Doria; twelve thouſand Knights, and eighty banners: while, on the part of the Engliſh, one Eſquire, three Knights, and a few of inferior note, are affirmed to have been the incredible diſproportion of their ſlain!

Prompt, upon all occaſions, to take advantage of fortune, Edward, after this ſplendid victory, turned his thoughts to obtain ſome uſeful conqueſt that might ſecure him a commodious entrance into France, without depending upon the diſtant parts of

A. D. 1346. of Gaſcony, or the uncertain power of the Flemings; and, without purſuing the French Monarch to his capital, as it was expected that he would, he determined upon the ſiege of Calais. Well knowing that he could not ſucceed in his enterpriſe before the winter ſhould advance, he choſe a proper ſituation for the encampment of his army, made entrenchments around the walls of the city; erected wooden houſes, well defended from the inclemency of the approaching ſeaſon; eſtabliſhed markets, which were regularly ſupplied by his numerous navy; and determined to reduce the place by famine.

The Governor of Calais, John of Vienne, provided with every convenience and neceſſary to ſuſtain a ſiege, expelled from the city all the uſeleſs inhabitants; whom Edward, much to his honour, ſuffered to paſs, unmoleſted, through his camp, and generouſly ſupplied with the means to continue their retreat.

While the Engliſh Monarch was thus engaged, the campaign in Guienne was not leſs unfavourable to the Gallic arms. The Duke of Normandy having been recalled, after the fatal battle of Creci, by the French Monarch, from his fruitleſs ſiege of Aiguillon, the Earl of Lancaſter made himſelf maſter of Mirabeau, Taillebourg; Saint John, of Angely, Poitiers; and carried his devaſtations as far as the Loire. In Brittany, the Counteſs of Montfort had made a vigorous oppoſition to the

arms

arms of Charles of Blois. Aſſiſted by troops from England, ſhe attacked his camp, then employed in the ſiege of Roch-de-Rein, diſperſed his army, and took him priſoner. His conſort, Jane, reduced to the ſame neceſſity of exertion as had been the Counteſs of Montfort, took upon herſelf the command of her party; and oppoſed herſelf, both in the cabinet and the field, to the maſculine abilities of her adverſary. This was an æra marked for extraordinary characters! Philippa, of Hainault, Queen of England, no leſs diſtinguiſhed herſelf for her martial achievements. David Bruce had a few years before been reſtored to the crown of Scotland: upon the invaſion of France by Edward, he was prevailed upon, by Philip, to attack the dominions of his rival. Entering the territories of the Engliſh Monarch, with an army of fifty thouſand men, he penetrated as far as Durham; where, encountered by Philippa, with twelve thouſand newly-levied troops, his army was totally defeated; and this heroine had the good fortune to lodge the King himſelf in the tower, and repaired in triumph to receive the congratulations of the beſiegers before Calais. A. D. 1347.

The French Monarch, in the mean time, confident of the ſtrength of Calais, was employed in an attempt to detach the Flemings from the intereſt of the King of England. Lewis, Count of Flanders, having been ſlain at the battle of Creci, left a ſon of the ſame name—a youth of fifteen years

of

A. D. 1347. of age, who had been educated at the Court of France, and was as much attached to that nation, as his countrymen wete incenſed againſt it. Edward endeavoured to accompliſh an union between the young Count and Iſabel his daughter. The Flemings were well inclined to the alliance: but Lewis, who had been reſtored to his dominions, rejected, with indignation, a marriage with the daughter of one who had been the cauſe of the death of his father. Confined, in conſequence of this rejection, by his ſubjects at Courtray, he pretended to conſent to their wiſhes. The Princeſs was conducted, by the Engliſh Monarch, to the Abbey of Saint Bergues, where the young couple were affianced; but, a few days before the one fixed upon for the celebration of their eſpouſals, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf, eſcaped in ſafety to the Court of Philip, and was united, in conformity to the wiſhes of that Prince, to the daughter of the Duke of Brabant.

The ſiege of Calais ſtill continued. The inveſted, reduced to the extremities of famine, were compelled to ſatisfy the importunities of hunger, by feeding upon dogs, cats, and all kinds of vermin: but their diſtreſſes abated not the vigilance and conſtancy with which they had defended themſelves for ſo protracted a period. Determined, at length, to attempt their relief, Philip advanced againſt the Engliſh, with a numerous army: but he ſoon perceived, that to attack his opponent with ſucceſs,

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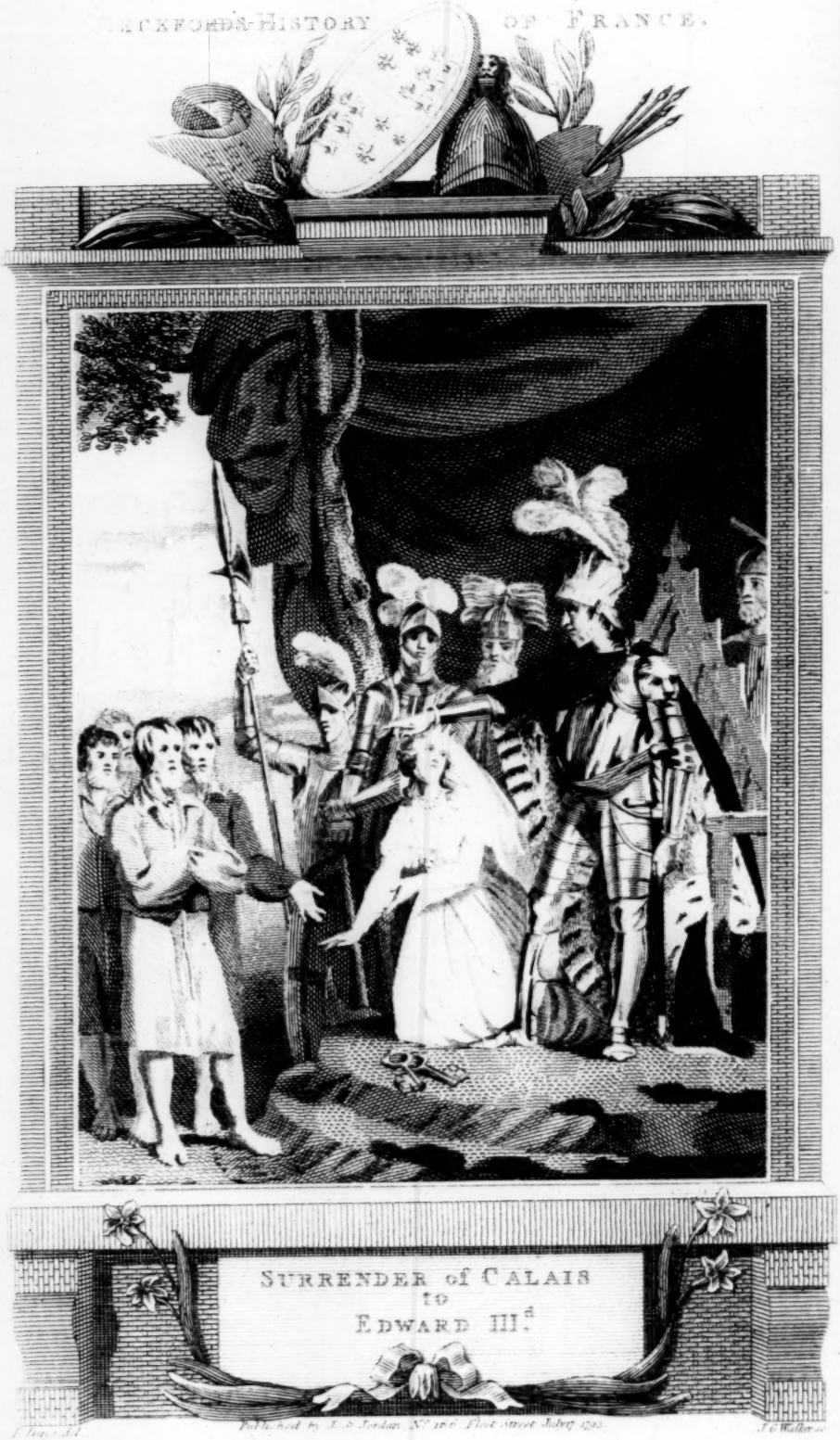
HISTORY OF FRANCE.
SURRENDER of CALAIS
to
EDWARD III.d
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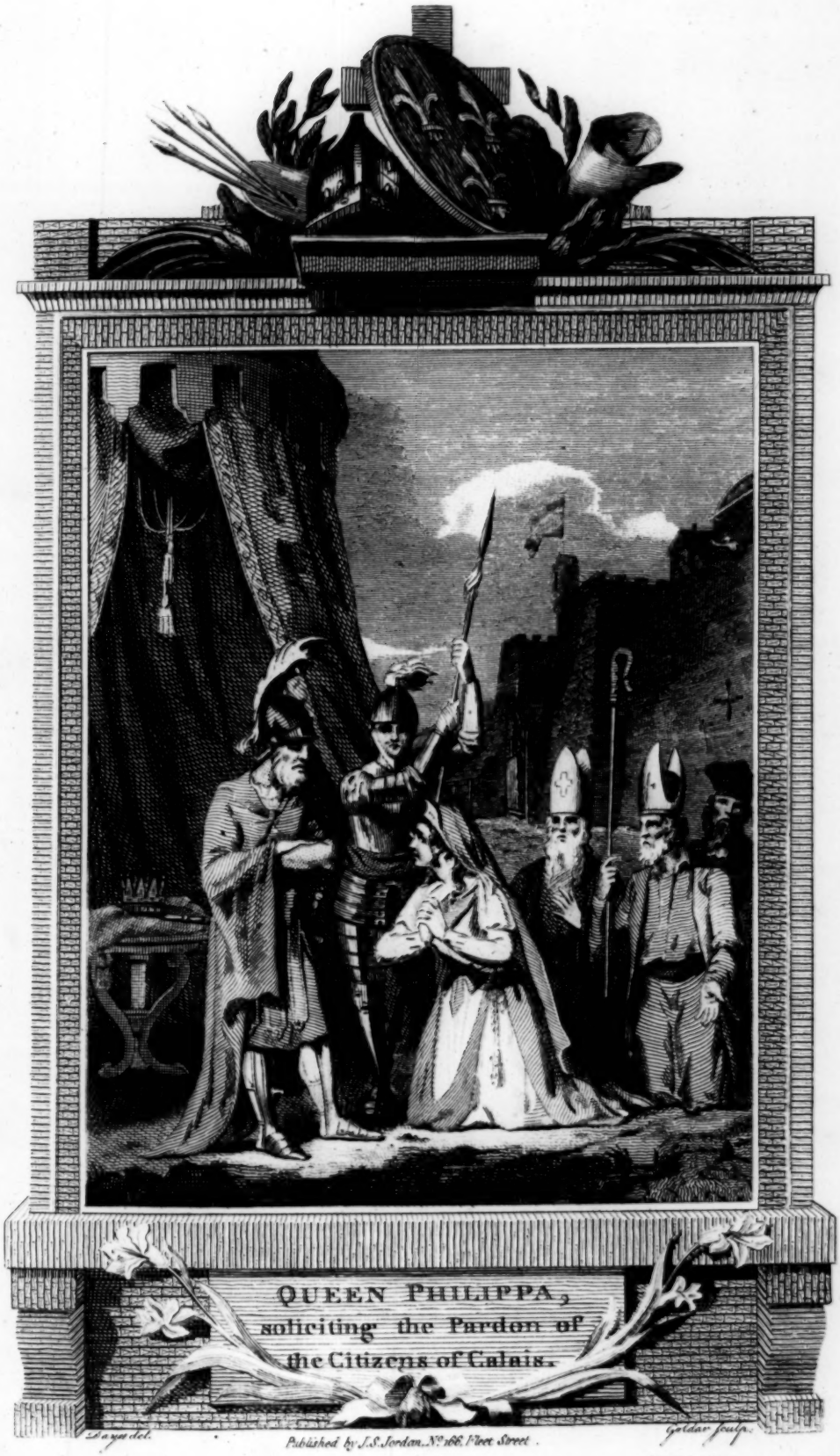
ſucceſs, as he was ſurrounded by moraſſes, and ſecured by entrenchments, would be, if not impracticable, yet highly hazardous: he was therefore compelled to withdraw his forces, and abandon the brave Calaiſians to the mercy of the enemy. A.D. 1347.

The unfortunate inhabitants, dejected at his retreat, which they had the mortification to witneſs from their battlements, and driven to the laſt diſtreſs, prevailed upon their Governor to capitulate: and John of Vienne, having demanded a parley, offered to ſurrender, upon the ſole condition of life and liberty accorded to his valiant compatriots. The King of England, highly incenſed againſt them for their inflexible as virtuous reſiſtance, inſiſted that they ſhould deliver themſelves unconditionally to his diſcretion: but, prevailed upon by the remonſtrances and entreaties of his officers, he conſented to mitigate the rigour of their ſentence; and required, that ſix of the moſt conſiderable citizens ſhould, bareheaded, barefooted, and with a halter about their necks, ſubmit themſelves, with the keys of the city, to his will and diſpoſal. Upon the proclamation of this reply, by Sir William Manny, the inhabitants were ſtruck with conſternation and deſpair. To devote their brave countrymen to a certain death, appeared more dreadful than the general deſtruction they had feared. A mournful ſilence prevailed—until Euſtace, of Saint Pierre, whoſe name will ever be honourably recorded in the annals of his country, came forward,

A. D. 1347—50 and offered himſelf a willing victim for the ſafety of his aſſociates. Animated by his example, the required number was ſoon completed; and theſe generous burgeſſes, in the guiſe of malefactors, preſenting themſelves before the vindictive Monarch, laid the keys of the city at his feet. They were ordered to inſtant execution. Inſenſible to the ſolicitations and prayers of his valiant ſon, and the ſurrounding Nobles, Edward was inexorable; until the tears and entreaties of his Queen prevailed, and ſaved his memory from eternal infamy. She obtained their pardon, conducted them to her tent, ordered a repaſt to be ſet before them; and, having preſented them with money and with clothes, diſmiſſed them in ſafety to their friends.

The Engliſh Monarch then took poſſeſſion of this important city, which had withſtood the vigour of his arms ſomewhat more than eleven months; and executed an act of ſeverity, that not even the advantages that might reſult from the cruel meaſure could make juſtifiable. He ordered the immediate departure of the inhabitants of every deſcription whatever; renewed the population of the town by the introduction of his Engliſh ſubjects; and made it the ſtaple for wool, leather, tin, and lead—the chief commodities of England then in demand at foreign markets. The ancient hiſtorians inform us, that the zeal and fidelity of the unfortunate inhabitants of Calais were not recompenſed; but, on the contrary, ſcattered over the kingdom, they were reduced



QUEEN PHILIPPA,
soliciting the Pardon of
the Citizens of Calais.

Hayes del. Published by J.S. Jordan, No. 166, Fleet Street. Goldar sculp.

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duced to the moſt wretched poverty: while another, of more modern date, cites an ordinance of this reign, in which there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that they were protected and relieved by Philip: ſo difficult is it to aſcertain events of ſo much conſequence to the honour and humanity of the Sovereign! A. D. 1347—50

The capture of Calais was followed by a ſhort truce, through the mediation of the Legate of the Holy See, the Cardinal of Boulogne. It was not, however, obſerved with much exactneſs, either in Brittany, or in Guienne; and, during its continuance, Edward had nearly loſt his ſo much boaſted conqueſt. Geoffry, of Charni, the Governor of Saint Omers, had tampered with the avarice of Aimery, of Paris, an Italian by birth; who had been entruſted, by the King of England, with the command of the captured city. Appriſed of the treachery that had been concerted, Edward charged him with his guilt; and inſiſted, that, to deprecate his wrath, he ſhould turn the contrivance to the deſtruction of his corrupter. Conſenting to this double treachery, Aimery promiſed an entrance to the troops of Charni into the city by night. Having admitted a choſen band of French ſoldiers, he received the ſtipulated ſum; when the Engliſh Monarch, who had prepared for their reception a body of a thouſand veteran troops, marched forth from the town: thoſe who were already within the walls were cut to pieces, or taken priſoners; and Charni, although ſurpriſed, commenced a fierce

A.D. 1347—50 and bloody engagement. The arms of Edward prevailed; and the Gallic troops received a total defeat.

This attempt, as it was diſavowed by Philip, had no effect upon the truce that had been ſo recently concluded; and a deſtructive peſtilence, which raged at that time, contributed, more than any other cauſe, to its prolongation. Commencing in the north of Aſia, it depopulated that immenſe continent; viſited Africa; traverſed Europe; and, it is computed, ſwept off a third of the inhabitants of every country over which it had ſpread its baleful influence. The unhappy Jews were again accuſed as the cauſe of this dreadful mortality; and were, once more, maſſacred and burned throughout the dominions of Philip. This peſt, conſidered by many as an inſtance of divine vengeance, from awakening the piety of individuals, gave birth to the fanatic ſect of Flagellants, who conceived the chaſtiſement of the body, an expiatory offering to arreſt the vengeance of heaven.

The chagrin of Philip, at the ſucceſſes and triumph of Edward, with the wretched ſtate of his kingdom, were further inhanced by the loſs of Jane, his queen, and of Bonna, the conſort of his ſon, the Duke of Normandy, who fell victims to the common calamity that had overſpread his dominions. Having prolonged the truce with England for three years, he was taken ill at Nogent le Roi,

Roi, where he breathed his laſt, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and in the twenty-third of his reign. A. D. Aug. 22. 1350.

Conſcious that the period was arrived in which the cares of the man ſucceed to the pageantries of the monarch, Philip acknowledged the internal evidence he experienced of the errors of his government, by an anxious and pathetic exhortation to his children, to adopt a ſyſtem of politics, the reverſe of what he had ſo deſtructively purſued. Melancholy as is the truth! it ſeldom happens that individuals, in any ſituation of life, recall to the remembrance the abuſes of which they have been the cauſe, until they are obtruded at the moment when they are about to render up an account at an immortal tribunal, and too late to profit by the ſad, but ſalutary conviction! Of many children, by Jane of Burgundy, but two ſurvived him—John, the Dauphin, and Philip, Duke of Orleans. His ſecond conſort, whom he eſpouſed but a ſhort time before his demiſe, was, ſome months after his deceaſe, delivered of a daughter, named Blanch.

This Monarch, who experienced, at his acceſſion to the throne, the moſt flattering teſtimonies of the attachment and liberality of the nation, was not ſo fortunate as to take with him the regrets of his ſubjects to the tomb;—the common fate of Kings, and in a manner attached to their condition! nor was this Prince poſſeſſed of qualities that

A. D. 1350. that might have averted the diſaſters, or have ſoftened the miſeries, with which his kingdom was afflicted.

The commencement of his reign afforded well-grounded hopes of a ſteady and a juſt adminiſtration. He attempted to reform the various abuſes of the government; to reſtore the value of the coin, ſo much debaſed by his predeceſſors: and he ſtrictly inveſtigated the conduct of thoſe to whom had been entruſted the regulation of the finances; —of whom Remy, Lord of Montigny, paid with his life the forfeit of his imputed rapacity.

Notwithſtanding theſe favourable anticipations, the diſpoſition of Philip was found to be ſo wholly incompatible with the happineſs of his ſubjects, that it is not to be wondered at, that ſucceeding generations affixed to his memory the origin of thoſe misfortunes which preyed, for ſo lengthened a period, upon the vitals of his country. The violence of his paſſions ſuffered him not to give time to the operations of reaſon, to mollify his reſentments; and hence, as his vengeance was prompt, it was but rarely juſt; and ſeldom was he inclinable to pardon. The perſecution of Robert, of Artois, his brother-in-law, who appears to have had as legal a claim to the country which he diſputed, as the Gallic Monarch, to the kingdom he enjoyed, was the forerunner of the miſeries which ſo immediately enſued.

His

His preparations for war againſt his formidable competitor, Edward, as they required extraordinary aids, obliged him to impoſe grievous burdens upon his people. At the commencement of his reign, the ſupplies that he required they granted with a liberal hand; until, obſerving that there was not either the proſpect of a return of peace, or any period to terminate his repeated demands,—the three eſtates, aſſembled in the tenth and eleventh years of his government, no longer able to ſupport his impoſitions, reſiſted, with firmneſs, his unbounded exactions. Checked by this unanimous reſolution, and having, in a manner, become the entire maſter of the mints of the kingdom, he had recourſe to other expedients; and made ſo conſiderable an alteration in the current coin of his dominions, that, in the ſpace of the above-mentioned term, a mark of ſilver roſe from fifty-ſeven ſols, ſix deniers, to thirteen livres, ten ſols; and one of gold was advanced, from forty livres, to the immenſe diſproportion of one hundred and thirty-eight. Nor was this all: he not only frequently varied the currency of the ſpecie, but debaſed its intrinſic worth, by the introduction of a baſe metal; far exceeding the ſimilar practices ſo juſtly reprobated in his predeceſſor, Philip the Fair! A. D. 1350.

The ſupport afforded by Philip to Charles of Blois, in his attempt upon Brittany, was alike unjuſt as impolitic. The claim of John of Montfort

A. D. 1350. fort to the ducal crown, as the male inheritor of the late Sovereign of that province, might be conſidered to have been as well founded, as was that of the French Monarch to the one he had obtained: and in no inſtance was the ſeverity of this Prince ſo conſpicuous, as in the execution of Cliſſon, and fourteen of his aſſociates, without either the form of a trial, or, as the moſt accredited hiſtorians acknowledge, without condeſcending to avow the motives by which he was actuated;—more particularly at a time, when the blood of the Gallic Nobility was deemed to be ſo ſacred.

Neither the voluntary aids, nor the various impoſts, could ſuffice to the ſupport of his government: and the laſt year of his life was diſgraced by the perſecution of the director of his finances, Peter des Eſcards, who had been recently high in his favour and confidence; and of the Lombards, whom he had allowed to farm his demeſnes, and collect the taxes that had been granted. The firſt eſcaped a further puniſhment, by a diſburſement of fifty thouſand florins of gold: the latter, driven out of the kingdom, were compelled to refund to the royal treaſury four hundred thouſand livres, and to cancel two hundred thouſand more, endebted to them by private individuals. The magnitude of theſe ſums announced the rapacity of his agents; and, expedient as it may have been to puniſh ſuch extortions, the people, who had been

been their victims, were but partially benefited by their reſtitutions. A. D. 1350.

The natural endowments of Philip, which might have been rendered valuable by culture, became uſeleſs by the total neglect of his education. Not poſſeſſed of learning himſelf, he was neither the patron nor the protector of literature in others. Perſonally brave, but without conduct,—he was deficient in that foreſight, ſo eminently the characteriſtic of his opponent. Magnificent and ſplendid in his Court, his profuſe expences kept his exchequer for ever exhauſted. His zeal for juſtice entrenched upon his humanity, from the rigour of the meaſures by which he was led to obtain it. The invariable miſcarriage of his arms gave him cauſe to doubt the fidelity of his nobles; and made him ſuſpicious, moroſe, and inflexible;—contrary to his natural diſpoſition, if we may be allowed to form this opinion from the ready forgiveneſs obtained by Harcourt; who, actuated by a momentary compunction for the evils brought upon his country, after the battle of Creci ſubmitted himſelf to the mercy of an offended and injured Sovereign.

The worſt deſtiny of Philip ſeems to have been the ſuperior abilities of the King of England; who, to a more conſummate knowledge of the duties of the field, united the character of the moſt able politician of the age. Either prevented, ſurpriſed, or deceived, by his more active competitor, he had the misfortune to loſe, in the various actions in

A. D. 1350. which they were engaged, his beſt generals, and his moſt able and faithful ſupporters: and the diſaſtrous defeat which his navy ſuſtained at Ecluſe, on the coaſt of Flanders; his fatal diſcomfiture at Creci; and the capture of the important city of Calais,—were but the melancholy forerunners of thoſe repeated and ſignal diſgraces, which his country was doomed to undergo in the ſucceeding reigns.

The Prudent, and the Fortunate, were the ſurnames of this Prince, in the commencement of his reign—appellations which his actions but ill merited: that of Catholic, which he likewiſe bore, was added to his other nominal diſtinctions by the clerical orders of his kingdom, in conſequence of his determination of a diſpute concerning eccleſiaſtical and lay diſtinctions; and which he awarded in favour of the ſecular power.

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END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.